Studies in Welsh History

Wales and the Crusades *c.*1095–1291

Kathryn Hurlock

University of Wales Press

STUDIES IN WELSH HISTORY

Editors

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by

KATHRYN HURLOCK

Published on behalf of the University of Wales

CARDIFF
UNIVERSITY OF WALES PRESS
2011

www.uwp.co.uk

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-0-7083-2427-1
e-ISBN 978-0-7083-2428-8

The publisher acknowledges the financial support of the Welsh Books Council.

Printed in Wales by Dinefwr Press, Llandybïe

SERIES EDITORS' FOREWORD

Since the foundation of the series in 1977, the study of Wales's history has attracted growing attention among historians internationally and continues to enjoy a vigorous popularity. Not only are approaches, both traditional and new, to the study of history in general being successfully applied in a Welsh context, but Wales's historical experience is increasingly appreciated by writers on British, European and world history. These advances have been especially marked in the university institutions in Wales itself.

In order to make more widely available the conclusions of original research, much of it of limited accessibility in postgraduate dissertations and theses, in 1977 the History and Law Committee of the Board of Celtic Studies inaugurated this series of monographs, *Studies in Welsh History*. It was anticipated that many of the volumes would originate in research conducted in the University of Wales or under the auspices of the Board of Celtic Studies, and so it proved. Although the Board of Celtic Studies no longer exists, the University of Wales continues to sponsor the series. It seeks to publish significant contributions made by researchers in Wales and elsewhere. Its primary aim is to serve historical scholarship and to encourage the study of Welsh history.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the course of my study I have been fortunate to receive advice and support from a number of people. Foremost amongst these has been Dr Björn Weiler, without whose good humour, wise advice and gentle encouragement this book would have been far less enjoyable to write. I am also grateful to Dr Karen Stöber for her helpful comments and advice, and to the postgraduates in the Department of History and Welsh History of Aberystwyth University for providing me with information which often had nothing to do with my work, but was interesting, nonetheless. I am also indebted to Professor Phillip Schofield and Professor Janet Burton for their advice and support.

Others who have helped during the course of this research are too numerous to name, but I should like to offer particular thanks to Professor Huw Pryce for his willingness to provide feedback on various parts of this work, Spencer Smith for all archaeological information and assistance with Welsh translation, and Dr Annalee C. Rejhon for providing me with copies of Ronald Walpole's unpublished work, as well as transcripts of her own unpublished articles.

I am especially grateful to those who attended the 'Thirteenth Century England 11' conference, held at Gregynog in September 2005, for their helpful questions and comments, in particular Professor David Carpenter, Dr Marc Morris and Dr Andrew Spencer. The delegates at the 'Third Colloquium on Medieval Wales 2006' in Bangor also provided some lively debate and provided an excellent sounding-board for ideas. I am grateful to all who made comments and offered advice.

I should also like to thank the librarians and staff of the Hugh Owen Library, Aberystwyth, for obtaining works with speed and humour, and to those at the National Library of

Wales for their unfailing willingness to help with even the most obscure requests.

Thanks are also due to Maggie Cole, Cory Richards and Janka Rodziewicz for providing a measure of sanity (and the occasional comment on history), and Thomas Hurlock and Kim Deadman for their willingness to offer me somewhere to sleep when in London.

This study started life as my doctoral thesis and during its transformation into a book the assistance of my husband, Dr Andrew Abram, has been unstinting and sometimes even had something to do with the subject at hand. His willingness to listen to my more absurd ideas and complaints about technological matters seems unending.

My greatest debt is to my father, Richard, for his support throughout my education. I should also like to commend him for his willingness to visit some of the more obscure churches and castles of Wales and the Marches, which I felt was sweet revenge for more than a decade of visiting all manner of Victorian bridges, churches and schools designed by R. K. Penson, amongst others, which I have (willingly) endured.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	*Annales Cambriæ*, ed. John Williams ab Ithel (London, 1860)
Ann. Mon.	*Annales Monastici*, ed. H. L. Luard, 5 vols (London, 1864–9)
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies*
Arch. Camb.	*Archaeologia Cambrensis*
AWR	*The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, ed. Huw Pryce with Charles Insey (Cardiff, 2005)
BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
B. Saes.	*Brenhinedd y Saesson, or the Kings of the Saxons*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1971)
BT. Pen.	*Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS 20 Version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1952)
BT. RBH.	*Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1955)
Cal. Pat. R.	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
Cal. Cl. R.	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CCL	Cardiff Central Library
Cur. Reg. R.	*Curia Regis Rolls*
Davies, *Age*	R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Eyton, *Antiquities*	R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, 12 vols (London, 1854–60)
Itin. Kam.	Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera VI: Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. James F. Dimock (London, 1868)
Itin. Per.	*Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten*

	Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962)
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JWEH	*Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*
NLWJ	*National Library of Wales Journal*
Opera	Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols (London, 1861–91)
Paris, *Chron. Maj.*	Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols (London, 1872–84)
Rees, *History*	William Rees, *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border* (Cardiff, 1947)
TCE	*Thirteenth Century England*
Trans. Thorpe	*The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1978)
Trans. Soc. Cymm.	*Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion*
Trans. Woolhope	*Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*
VCH	*Victoria County History*
WHR	*Welsh History Review*

Note on spelling

The spelling of Welsh place-names is standardised using Melville Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units: Medieval and Modern* (Cardiff, 1969). Welsh and Latin names have been given in their modern equivalents wherever possible.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

When Urban II launched the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095, he set in train a movement which would have an impact on the whole of Europe and change the way in which West and East related to one another. The golden age of the crusades, which ran from 1096 until Acre fell to the Mamluks of Egypt in 1291, roughly coincided with the period of Welsh history that saw the start of the Norman conquest of Wales, finally completed in 1282 by Edward I. The political and cultural changes that took place in Wales, and the increasing influence of the Anglo-Norman settlers, meant that the crusades, so popular among the Anglo-Normans, are likely to have played their part in changing the culture of Wales.[1]

The crusading movement is one of the most studied aspects of medieval European history.[2] From the time of the launch of the First Crusade, the crusades became the focus of much of Europe's religious, political and social composition. They changed many aspects of medieval life, from warfare and the depiction of power to the medieval world outlook, and through taxation and the absence of crusaders influenced the lives of those who did not even participate, often for several years. Yet, despite their pervasive influence, the effect of the crusades on Wales and the Welsh has so far been largely ignored, almost as if Wales was cut off from the

[1] For attitudes to crusading, see Christopher Tyerman, 'Some English evidence of attitudes to crusading in the thirteenth century', in *Thirteenth Century England I, 1985* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 168–74.

[2] In 2006 alone, several substantial general works were published on the crusades, as well as numerous specialised studies: Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006); Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (London, 2006); Nikolas Jaspert, *The Crusades* (London, 2006); Malcolm Billings, *The Crusades: The War Against Islam* (Stroud, 2006); Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006); Alan V. Murray (ed.), *The Crusades: An Encyclopaedia*, 4 vols (Oxford, 2006); John H. Pryor, *Logistics of Warfare in the Ages of the Crusades* (Aldershot, 2006).

events of Europe and the Latin East. Wales was clearly not so isolated. This study aims to redress the balance by considering Welsh involvement in the crusading movement as a whole, through literature, recruitment, participation, politics and patronage, and to demonstrate that, rather than being disconnected from this widespread phenomenon, Wales and the Welsh were in fact involved in every aspect of the crusades.

The Welsh, if commentators like Gerald of Wales are to be believed, lived to fight:

> Not only the leaders but the entire nation are trained in war. Sound the trumpet for battle and the peasant will rush from his plough to pick up his weapons as quickly as the courtier from the court . . . They esteem it a disgrace to die in bed, but an honour to be killed in battle. They agree with the words of the poet:
>
> Turn peace away,
> For honour perishes with peace
>
> . . . It is a remarkable fact that on many occasions they had not hesitated to fight without any protection at all against men clad in iron, unarmed against those bearing weapons, on foot against mounted warriors. They are so agile and fierce that they often win battles fought against such odds.[3]

According to Gerald, such was the fame of these men that Henry II wrote to Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, and told him: 'there is a race of people called the Welsh who are so brave and untamed that, though unarmed themselves, they do not hesitate to do battle'.[4] If Gerald's account of the letter is correct, it would suggest that the fame of the Welsh fighters spread as far as the Near East. It was not only in the twelfth century that the Welsh were noted for their bravery in battle. Welsh legends harked back to tales of heroic knights of the *Mabinogion* who were revered as examples of a warrior ethic, and the Welsh liked to claim that they were descended from Macsen Wledig and the

[3] Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols (London, 1861–91), VI, pp. 179–80; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1978), pp. 233–4.

[4] *Opera*, VI, p. 181; trans. Thorpe, p. 234.

warriors of Troy.[5] The works of the court poets exalted skilled warriors: Llywelyn ap Iorwerth was praised as 'bold in battle . . . attacker, assaulter' by Llywarch ap Llywelyn.[6] The fame of these warriors was increased if they were fighting for a worthy cause; this was often for Wales, but also included fighting for God.[7] In addition to this fervour for fighting, the Welsh were also noted for their interest in pilgrimage, though admittedly (at least according to Gerald of Wales), Rome was the focus of their devotion rather than Jerusalem.[8] That the idea of foreign pilgrimage existed in Wales, and pre-dated the crusade movement,[9] would suggest that the concept of an armed pilgrimage to a foreign country would not have been an unlikely proposition. Thus, the background of ideals, which would have facilitated the spread of crusade ideology and propaganda, certainly existed in Wales long before crusading began. In such circumstances, finding fertile soil in which to plant the message of the Cross should not have been particularly difficult.

Medieval Welsh religious customs largely followed the beliefs and practices stipulated by Rome, although traditions that had developed in the centuries before *c.*1095 continued to exert a degree of influence; the marriage of clerics, for example, and hereditary succession to office were common features of the Welsh church.[10] However, the view of the medieval church in Wales as backward and resistant to reform cannot be sustained,[11] as although the arrival of the

[5] *The Mabinogion: from the Welsh of the Llyfr Coch o Hergest in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford*, trans. Charlotte Guest (Cardiff, 1977); J. Beverley Smith, *Yr ymwybod â hanes yng Nghymru yn yr oesoedd canol: The Sense of History in Medieval Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1991), pp. 1–4.

[6] Joseph P. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 159–60.

[7] See the work by Llywarch ap Llywelyn, in which Llywelyn ap Iorwerth is praised for fighting the English, in ibid., pp. 159–60.

[8] *Opera*, VI, p. 197; trans. Thorpe, p. 253; Cadell ap Gruffydd, for example, went on pilgrimage to Rome in 1153. Domestic pilgrimage was also important to the Welsh. Most of the evidence for pilgrimage comes from the later medieval period, however. See Glanmor Williams, 'Poets and pilgrims in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Wales', *Trans. Cymm. Soc.* (1991), pp. 69–98.

[9] For example, King Cadwaladwr and King Hywel undertook pilgrimages to Rome in 688 and 929 respectively. See *Annales Cambriae*, ed. John Williams ab Ithel (London, 1860), pp. 8, 17.

[10] R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 176–7.

[11] Contemporaries and historians alike voiced criticisms of the practices of the

Normans in Wales undeniably stimulated change, the Welsh had already begun to reform the church so that it was more like that of mainstream Europe in its observances.[12] The fact that the church in Wales was willing to, and beginning to, reform even before the Normans arrived, suggests that the Welsh were interested in the development of the church, and were receptive to the ideas emerging from Rome. As such, the idea that the Welsh church was the reluctant object of reform does not stand scrutiny. Admittedly, the reform of the church came to be equated with Canterbury's efforts to control the Welsh dioceses, but it was not strongly opposed. The crusades were one of the most important and vibrant ideas to be advocated by the papacy during this period; it follows that church reform, in Wales as elsewhere, would have included spreading the messages of the crusade. The religiosity of the Welsh was remarked upon by Gerald of Wales, who claimed that the Welsh had more respect than other people for the Cross, 'for which they show great reverence'.[13] In this light, it is hard to understand why Welsh involvement in crusading has been largely ignored.

The only general survey of Welsh involvement in crusading was undertaken by the Reverend G. Hartwell-Jones in 1912, and formed part of a larger work on pilgrimage in Celtic Britain. Despite the range and level of detail in this work, it is unfortunately laden with error: dates are wrong, crusaders are incorrectly named, and there is a lack of evidence for many of the claims.[14] His section on the crusades is narrow

church in Wales. Gerald of Wales took on the role of reforming practices in Wales when he became archdeacon of Brecon. See Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982), reprinted as Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2006), pp. 34–7.

[12] Davies noted that 'the native church in Wales would of its own accord have brought itself, albeit slowly, more closely into line with ecclesiastical developments', but that matters were accelerated when the Normans brought their own churchmen to Wales. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 172.

[13] *Opera*, VI, p. 203; trans. Thorpe, p. 253. Walter Map was less complimentary, as although he acknowledged that one noble Welshman was so religious, 'you could think him more than man, and nearer to the angels', he complained that this man easily turned to slaughter and bloodshed, and was 'wholly given over to iniquity'. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), pp. 144–7.

[14] G. Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* (London, 1912), pp. 107–32. A section on the military orders follows, pp. 133–48.

in scope, perhaps because he intended it to touch only on matters relating directly to Welsh involvement. This did, however, limit the depth of his analysis, because addressing a subject so clearly linking Wales to Europe and the Near East necessitated a consideration of events outside Wales. As such, Hartwell-Jones did not provide any real context, or consider the broader themes associated with the crusade movement.

Scholarship on medieval Wales from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, such as in the works of J. E. Lloyd and R. R. Davies, makes very little reference to the crusades, despite the fact that both authors devoted large sections of their works to the development of the medieval church in Wales. Lloyd, writing a year before Hartwell-Jones, referred to the crusades only once, when discussing the role of the 1188 preaching tour in Gerald of Wales's career; here, he erroneously identified the crusade which the tour was promoting as the Second, rather than the Third.[15] Lloyd mentioned the military orders in passing, and incorrectly stated that Llywelyn ap Iorwerth founded Ysbyty Ifan.[16] Davies discussed the crusades only three times in his *Age of Conquest*, once to refer to the participation of Morgan ap Cadwgan in 1128, and then to mention the preaching tour of the archbishop of Canterbury in 1188. These references are not analysed in the context of the crusades, but in relation to Welsh disputes in Wales, and the church in Wales and Canterbury.[17] William Rees, in his history of the Hospitallers in Wales, tried to evaluate the role of the crusades in Wales as part of his study of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, but this was not the primary focus of his work and was thus tackled only briefly.[18] References to crusade participation, potential or otherwise, and interest in the ideas of the crusade movement, only occur in other Welsh works where it has a direct bearing on the subject in hand; translations of Welsh texts such as the *Cân Rolant* and consideration of Pecham's crusade proposal

[15] J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols (London, 1911), II, pp. 561–64.

[16] Ibid., pp. 596, 604.

[17] Davies, *Age*, pp.17, 72, 191.

[18] William Rees, *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border* (Cardiff, 1947)

of 1282 are studied thoroughly by Annalee Rejhon and J. Beverley Smith respectively, but only in direct relation to the topic they are discussing.[19]

More recently, crusading in Wales has received rather more attention, notably in the excellent papers of Huw Pryce (1988) and Peter Edbury (1996) on the recruitment tour of 1188,[20] but the subject matter of both papers meant that a wider picture of the crusades and Wales could not be drawn. The recruitment tour of 1188 is the only event referred to in any detail in general crusade works; even then, although crusade preaching undertaken in Wales and the March is related to wider European trends, promotion is not placed in the context of the interest shown in the crusades by men from Wales and the March.[21] The military orders in Wales have also benefited from recent scholarship, notably that of Helen Nicholson, but as yet no attempt has been made to analyse Templar and Hospitaller property in Wales and the March in the same light.[22]

The growth in recent years of more localised studies on crusading, notably by Simon Lloyd and Christopher Tyerman on England, and Alan MacQuarrie on Scotland, have led to a more detailed analysis of how and why the crusades affected different countries in Europe.[23] Although these works occasionally refer to the impact of the crusades on Wales, the involvement of the Welsh has understandably been relegated to the sidelines when it does not directly affect the study of England or Scotland. Analysis of the crusades in relation to

[19] See below, chapter 1 (on the *Cân Rolant*) and chapter 5 (1282 proposal).

[20] Huw Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey through Wales', *JWEH*, 6 (1989), 17–34; Peter W. Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade in Wales', in Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (eds), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 221–34. Detailed study of Gerald and the crusade can be found in Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 68–75.

[21] E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 54–6; Beatrice N. Siedschlag, 'English participation in the crusades, 1150–1220', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Bryn Mawr University, 1939; privately printed, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1939), pp. 26–8, 32.

[22] Helen Nicholson, 'The military orders in Wales', in *Monastic Wales* (Brepols; forthcoming), and Helen Nicholson, 'The military orders in Wales', in *The Military Orders* (Ashgate; forthcoming).

[23] Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusades, 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1988); C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988); Alan MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560* (Edinburgh, 1997).

other countries on the fringe of Christian Europe has also increased in recent years, notably in Scandinavia, where historians like Kurt Villads Jensen have analysed the contribution of north-east Europe to the crusade movement.[24] These works, and the advance of studies of more specific geographical locations, notably Yorkshire, the south of France and eastern Europe, underline how different the reactions to the crusades could be from one region to another.[25] In this light, a study of the Welsh response to the crusades is particularly enlightening, for the relationship between the Welsh and marcher lords affected many of the political, social and cultural developments that took place in Wales at this time. It is against this wider background of Anglo–Welsh relations that the development of crusade interest and participation will be explored.

The importance of the crusades to Wales is not, therefore, confined simply to examining who went on crusade and when. Discussing the motivations behind crusading provides an insight into the social networks and familial relationships of Wales and the March, and reflects how these relationships both spread crusade interest and inspired men to go on crusade. The background of the Anglo-Welsh power struggle provides a context when looking at the involvement of those from the March, but also allows for an analysis of the political use of the crusades, in relations between both the English king and the Welsh princes, and the archbishopric of Canterbury and the bishoprics of Wales, especially that of St David's.

Structure

The nature of this work, which centres on Welsh and English history, but also includes a significant amount of work on

[24] Kurt Villads Jensen, 'Crusading at the fringe of the ocean. Denmark and Portugal in the twelfth century', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kurt Villads Jensen with Janne Malkki and Katja Ritari (eds), *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology* (Helsinki, 2005), pp. 195–204.

[25] Hugh M. Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154–1216* (Philadelphia, 1993); Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade; The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford, 1993); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (London, 1997); Iben Fonnesburg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (Brill, 2006).

mainland Europe and the Latin East, means that a wide range of sources has been consulted. The main sources for Welsh history are the chronicles written in Wales, although a lot of material can also be found in the chronicles and administrative materials produced in England. Chronicles and charters often provide the best evidence from the continent; prose works from Europe also allow for comparisons of the cultural reaction to the crusades. Limitations imposed by the loss of texts, especially from Wales, mean that antiquarian works such as genealogies have also been consulted, because in many cases these provide the earliest references to Welsh crusade participation.

The study opens with a survey of the literature produced in Wales that refers to the crusade. As background to the development of crusade interest, the Welsh chronicles are included in order to provide a framework against which to compare the development of interest over time. Chapter 1 considers the way in which the crusades were depicted in the chronicles, poems and prose works produced in Wales, and analyses how this depiction reflected the level of interest. In the case of the chronicles, it also considers the depth and range of knowledge in order to discover the level of awareness of events in the Holy Land and other theatres of crusading.

The second chapter discusses attempts at crusade recruitment in Wales and the Welsh March, with particular reference to the preaching tour of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury in 1188. This subject has already been considered, but this chapter broadens the horizons of Baldwin's tour by comparing it with European preaching and recruitment, and discusses how and why the tour was planned and executed. Particular attention is paid to the locations chosen for preaching, as well as the technical aspects of sermon delivery and performance. The reasons for the tour, the archbishop's actions and the response to the preaching serve as background to chapters 3 and 5, which consider the numbers of those who enlisted in the service of the Cross both before and after the Third Crusade, and analyse how this recruitment tour was used by church and crown in the struggle between England and Wales.

The participation of the Welsh and of the men of the March in the crusades is discussed in chapter 3. The chapter opens with a chronological survey of crusade participation from 1096 to 1270, and considers how levels of involvement differed from one crusade to the next, and among different areas of Wales and the Marches. Chapter 3 then considers how the state of Anglo–Welsh relations along the border between *Pura Wallia* and *Marchia Wallia* affected both a man's desire and his willingness to undertake a crusade. Did the prospect of conflict dissuade potential crusaders from setting out? Or did it merely delay them? A comparison of differing relations in the March – from Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire to the lands of south Wales – is particularly helpful with regard to this issue, since it demonstrates how important personal relations could be both in securing the border and in encouraging crusading. It analyses other factors: domestic stability, value of lands, familial and geographical connections, and the influence of women in the March. Chapter 3 then discusses the impact of the absence of crusaders and of their return, with particular reference to the stability and administration of landholding.

Chapter 4 moves from a discussion of the practicalities of crusade participation to the development of the military orders in Wales and the March. Initial observations are confined to a survey of the grants made to the Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem and the Knights Templar, in order to provide a picture of how the level of support, both in terms of the number and size of grants, varied from one area to another. It then analyses the membership of the orders, with particular reference to the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, which appears to have been particularly popular among the Welsh. Again, the theme of Anglo–Welsh relations is discussed when considering when Welshmen were able to go to the Holy Land in order to become Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. In the third part of the chapter, the motivations behind the grants are examined, so that the impact of the levels of crusade participation discussed in chapter 3 can be compared.

The last chapter examines the use of crusade imagery, ideology and participation in the struggle for power between

the English crown and Welsh princes, and between the archbishopric of Canterbury and the church in Wales. It compares two occasions on which the crusade was used in this way. The first was in 1188, when Baldwin of Canterbury used his visit to Wales to preach the Cross in order to demonstrate his authority over the four dioceses of Wales. Acting as an agent of Henry II, he was also recruiting Welshmen in an effort to remove potential troublemakers from Wales. The second occasion came in 1282, when Archbishop Pecham tried to mediate in the conflict between Edward I and the Welsh princes by suggesting that Dafydd ap Gruffydd go on crusade to Jerusalem. This chapter explores the way in which the use of the crusade changed in the period between 1188 and 1282, and discusses ways in which the use of crusading in the relationship between England and Wales differed from its use in the relationships between England and Ireland, and England and Scotland.

This study demonstrates how, rather than being on the periphery of the crusading movement, Wales was involved in all aspects of crusading from the time of the First Crusade. By considering the significance of Anglo–Welsh relations, it shows how domestic politics influenced crusading activity, as well as adding a further dimension to the study of the political and social life of Wales in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the way in which England sought to impose its will on the Welsh. It focuses primarily on the activities of the princes and barons from the March, for these were the groups that appear in the sources and acted as patrons of monastic institutions and cultural works.

I

THE CRUSADES IN WELSH SOURCES

References to crusading in works produced in Wales in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries tend to be overlooked by both Welsh and crusade historians, seemingly providing too little relevant information for both. Studies focus on the poetry of the bards and the Four Branches of the *Mabinogion*, and the Welsh chronicles, the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, *Brenhinedd y Saesson* and *Annales Cambriae*, are used largely as a chronological guide to the events of the period. The literature of Wales did not, however, escape the influence of the crusading movement, and although references to events in the East and the themes of Holy War are not as prominent as in works produced in countries such as France or England,[1] there are helpful references in the chronicles and poetry produced in Wales. Close examination of both Welsh-language texts and those written in Wales in Latin show that crusading activity was familiar in Wales, and that Welshmen did participate as *crucesignati*. It also shows that literary works were influenced thematically by Holy War, as the translation of the Charlemagne cycle into Welsh and references to Jerusalem in the poetry of medieval Wales demonstrate.

One of the first problems facing any historian considering Welsh sources for the medieval period is the paucity of surviving texts; a fourteenth-century inventory of predominantly theological works at Margam Abbey, for example,

[1] Both countries are fortunate, in that accounts were kept when their respective kings went on crusade: for example, *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: Einie zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962); Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici in Orientem: The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. V. C. Berry (New York, 1948). See also *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, ed. and trans. Charles Wendell David and Jonathan Phillips (New York, 2001). Accounts also survive for Hungarian and Norwegian crusading: *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis: Heinrichs Livländische chronic*, ed. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores)*, 7:31; *Morkinskinna: The Earliest Icelandic Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)*, trans. Theodore M. Andersson and Kari Ellen Gade (Ithaca, New York, 2000)

listed 242 works, none of which is extant.[2] In the nineteenth century, Aneurin Owen identified several missing manuscripts of unknown date from the Hengwrt Collection (10, 20 and 44) which contained stories from the Charlemagne Cycle and information on Mohammed.[3] Welsh sources were also composed in fewer locations than in England or Ireland, and as such could easily have been destroyed; 'a single fire at St David's', Howlett observes, 'might have destroyed much, if not most, of the evidence of Cambro-Latin literary activity'.[4] Nevertheless, several examples of the surviving material show an interest in events far beyond the borders of Wales and reflect the growth in knowledge from contacts with other cultures.[5] The exchange of ideas was facilitated by contact with travellers and merchants, as well as by the relationship between the Welsh and Anglo-Norman settlers. Literary developments in Wales were by no means isolated; the first eisteddfod, in 1176, was 'announced for a year through all Wales and England and Scotland and Ireland and the other islands', suggesting it might have drawn an international audience.[6] In such a cosmopolitan atmosphere it is hardly surprising that the information and ideas that permeated works written beyond the borders of Wales should find their way into works produced in Wales.

[2] *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum ed euctorum veterum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse (London, 1991), pp. 289–91; Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Aberystwyth, 2000), pp. 3, 11. It should be pointed out that the loss of this number of works is not unusual. Many libraries lost works through destruction caused by war, fire, flood and the dissolution. Canterbury library burned in 1067, and in 1904 a fire at the library in Turin destroyed some 4,500 manuscripts. See James Westfall Thomson, *The Medieval Library* (New York, 1957), pp. 647–61, esp. p. 659.

[3] W. W. E. Wynne, 'MSS missing from the Hengwrt collection', *Arch. Camb.*, 2 (1871), 129–30.

[4] David Howlett, *Cambro-Norman Compositions: Their Competence and Craftsmanship* (Dublin, 1998), p. 155.

[5] A. D. Carr, 'Inside the tent looking out: the medieval Welsh world-view', in R. R. Davies and Geraint H. Jenkins (eds), *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths* (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 30–44.

[6] *Brut y Tywysogyon, or the Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS 20 version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1952), p. 71. Thomas Stephens believed that eisteddfodau were held in 1100, 1107 and 1135, the first with minstrels from England and Scotland, but I can find no supporting evidence for this, and it is not an argument that appears to have gained any currency. Thomas Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry, Being a Critical Essay on the History of Language and Literature in Wales During the Twelfth and Two Succeeding Centuries* (Llandovery, 1849), pp. 65, 337–8.

This chapter addresses references to the crusades in works produced in Wales by considering how the different genres treated the crusade movement and the places associated with crusading. Throughout, this chapter explains what the Welsh and those writing in Wales made of the crusades in their literature, how they reacted to events in Iberia, France and the East, and how well informed they were. Analysis of these works allows for a comparison between the different areas of Wales, and this, coupled with the differing levels of interest over time, provides a background to understanding crusade participation, both in terms of the influence of literature as propaganda and a recruitment tool, and the way in which participation influenced poetry, prose and the chronicles of Wales.[7]

I The Life of St David

Welsh writing before the crusades contains few references to Jerusalem and the Holy Land. There are no notes on either before 1094 in the *Brut*, *Brenhinedd* or *Annales*, and interest in the world beyond England and Wales is limited: the only entries relating to Rome are included because it was in Rome that Cyngen, king of Powys, and Hywel ap Rhys, king of Morgannwg, died.[8] It is not until Rhigyfarch's *Life of St David*, written at Llanbadarn between 1090 and 1095, that Welsh literature focuses on the Holy City.[9] Rhigyfarch's biography

[7] The works of Gerald of Wales will not be considered in this chapter because they are dealt with in some detail later. Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* will also be omitted because, although Map was probably Welsh, he was writing for an English audience, so his views on the crusade cannot be considered a reflection of what was considered of interest to the Welsh. His references to the crusades are brief, and have no bearing on Wales and the March. See Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 68–73, 124–5, 118–23, 470–1 and 484–5.

[8] *Brenhinedd y Saesson, or The Kings of the Saxons, BM Cotton Ms Cleopatra Bv and The Black Book of Basingwerk NLW Ms 7006*, ed. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1971), p. 19; *Brut y Tywysogyon, or the Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest version*, ed. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1955), p. 9; *Annales Cambriae*, ed. John Williams ab Ithel (London, 1860), pp. 13, 15; *BT. Pen.*, pp. 4–5.

[9] David lived *c.*515–88; he was canonised in Rome in 1120. D. Simon Evans (ed.), *The Welsh Life of St David* (Cardiff, 1988), p. xxxi. Evans cites internal evidence when placing the composition of the work outside St David's itself. Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*, trans. J. W. James (Cardiff, 1967), p. xi. Various dates have been suggested for the composition of this work: *c.*1090 (A. Wade-Evans and W. H. Davies); 1095

gives the best idea of the Welsh attitude to the Latin East and the significance of Jerusalem in the years immediately preceding the First Crusade. For a crusade historian, the most interesting episode in this account of St David's life relates to his visit to Jerusalem. J. W. James proposes that the passage devoted to St David's journey to the Holy City in Rhigyfarch's work was written in response to Archbishop Anselm's suspension of Wilfred, bishop of St David's, in 1095.[10] Rhigyfarch was clearly concerned with the Norman influence in Wales, for he had composed a 'Lament' on the disastrous events of 1093, when it appeared that Wales had finally fallen under the control of the Normans.[11] Upon arrival in Jerusalem, the patriarch 'advanced David to the Archbishopric'.[12] David's recognition as archbishop by the patriarch bypassed the need for agreement from England or Rome, and suggested a special link between St David's and Jerusalem.[13]

What is more interesting in this episode in relation to the crusades was probably of secondary importance to Rhigyfarch, but tells us a lot about his attitude, and that of his contemporaries, towards the position of the Holy City. After the patriarch has invested David with the archbishopric, he tells the saint and his companions that:

> The power of the Jews against the Christians is on the increase: they disturb us and reject our faith. Make ready therefore and go forth to preach daily, that their aggressiveness may be checked and subside, when they learn the Christian faith has been proclaimed in western lands, and propagated to the furthest bounds of the earth.[14]

(J. W. James); 1093 (M. Lapidge); *c.*1093–5 (M. Richter). Mrs N. K. Chadwick has suggested a date of 1081, but the threat to the ecclesiastical independence of St David's in 1095 makes the later dating more plausible.

[10] *Life of St David*, p. xi.

[11] D. Simon Evans, *St David*, p. xxiii.

[12] *Life of St David*, p. 43.

[13] According to a letter from the chapter of St David's to Pope Honorius II, preserved in Gerald of Wales's *De Invectionibus*, St David was consecrated by his predecessor at St David's, St Dubricus. Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Invectionibus*, ed. W. S. Davies (London, 1920), pp. 143–6. See also Christopher Brooke, 'The Archbishops of St David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', in Nora K. Chadwick, Kathleen Hughes, Christopher Brooke and Kenneth Jackson (eds), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 201–42.

[14] *Life of St David*, p. 43.

Rhigyfarch's attack upon the Jews in this passage may have been a product of his own time. Violence against Jews had been increasing throughout Europe in the eleventh century: in 1010–12, attacks were perpetrated against the Jews in Limoges, Orleans, Mainz and Rouen, in response to a rumour that the Holy Sepulchre had been sacked by the sultan of Egypt.[15] On the eve of the First Crusade, the impression in Wales appears to have been that it was Jews who provided the greatest threat to the Christian faith, not the Saracens, even though recent events proved otherwise. As recently as 1064–5 a party of pilgrims several thousand strong, led by Gunther, bishop of Bamberg, was attacked near Ramleh by Muslims.[16] It is possible that Rhigyfarch, writing at the close of 1095, was influenced by the rise in anti-semitism before the First Crusade, which culminated in the armies of Peter the Hermit and Walter Sans Avoir attacking Jews in Rouen and Champagne.[17]

II The Chronicles

Although not usually treated in works on literature, the Welsh chronicles are considered in this chapter because they provide an indication of how crusade interest and knowledge altered over time, and where it stood in relation to other events that occurred in Wales, as well as in Europe. The Welsh chronicles provide some of the most detailed information on Welsh understanding of the crusades and, although they are predominantly intended as historical works, for this reason they will be treated alongside poetry, hagiography

[15] R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1988), p. 29.

[16] *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, vol. XX (Hanover, 1868), pp. 772–824, 815–17.

[17] There were certainly no Jewish communities in Wales at the time, or throughout the Middle Ages, and although Jews came to England in the wake of William the Conqueror, they were not established outside London at this time. John Gillingham, 'The beginnings of English imperialism', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 5 (1992), 401. It is interesting to note that the earliest reference to the Jews in medieval Britain appears in the Pipe Roll of 1130–1, when 'the London Jewry were funding the campaign of the Anglo-Norman Marcher lords in Wales.' Joe Hillaby, 'Jewish colonisation in the twelfth century', in Patricia Skinner (ed.), *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 36.

and romance so that a consideration of the differing attitudes to crusading can be made. They also give an indication of how widespread information on the crusades was in the areas where the chronicles were composed, and demonstrate how the network of Cistercian monasteries in Wales linked the Welsh with a wider international monastic network that allowed for the dissemination of crusade information, and kept these orders – whether through membership, patronage or friendship – informed of events connected to the crusading movement.

The most important are the chronicles *Brut y Tywysogyon*, *Brenhinedd y Saesson* and the *Annales Cambriæ*.[18] The *Brut* and the *Brenhinedd* are translations, undertaken independently, of a lost Latin work, the *Cronica Principum Walliae*, written as a continuation of the Welsh-language version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The *Cronica*'s composition and subsequent translation as the *Brut y Tywysogyon* was probably undertaken at the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida, while the *Brut y Brenhinedd* 'in most of its versions, seems to have been a Valle Crucis text'.[19] The two most important versions of the *Brut y Tywysogyon* are the Red Book of Hergest version, translated sometime between 1382 and 1410 (for the most part by one copyist), and the Peniarth MS 20 version. The Peniarth MS 20 version is generally considered more complete than the Red Book of Hergest version, which its editor, Thomas Jones, finds 'defective in many places'.[20] The *Brenhinedd y Saesson* is similar to the two versions of the *Brut*, but is 'less reliable [with] more errors of translation and misinterpretation'.[21] Up until 1198, the text of the *Brenhinedd*, based on BM MS Cotton Cleopatra Bv, differs from the two versions of the *Brut*. Aneurin Owen suggested that the composition of this work was based on the *Brutiau*

[18] See above, n.8.

[19] J. Gwenogvryn Evans described the Red Book of Hergest version of the *Brut y Tywysogyon* as the 'Strata Florida version', although in his introduction to his critical edition of the Red Book of Hergest version Jones states that he has 'failed to find any real evidence to support the implication that this version of the *Brut* was translated from the original Latin at Strata Florida.' *BT. RBH.*, p. xi; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 53.

[20] *BT. Pen.*, p. xii.

[21] *BT. RBH.*, p. xiii.

and excerpts from Richard of Devizes's Winchester Annals, but Lloyd cautiously claimed that it was based on 'certain annals covering the history of England'.[22] The section covering the period from 1198 to 1332, in the Black Book of Basingwerk (NLW MS 7006), is based on the Red Book of Hergest and Peniarth 20 versions of the *Brut*, and, as such, 'has no independent value as an original source'.[23]

The title of the *Annales Cambriæ* refers to the three sets of annals related to the *Brutiau*, used by John William ab Ithel in order to create a composite text that would cover Welsh history from 444 to 1288.[24] The earliest annal dates from 1100 (British Library, Harleian MS 3859) and covers events up to 954, making it too early for references to the period in question, but the second (Breviate Domesday, TNA E.164/1), written at the end of the thirteenth century at Strata Florida, and the third (BL MS Cotton Domitian A.1), written in 1288 at St David's, cover this period directly.[25] Kathleen Hughes described the Latin texts of the *Annales Cambriae* as 'Welsh annals at various stages of composition, in several houses, under different political influences, all earlier than the Welsh Bruts'.[26] In 1939, almost eighty years after Williams ab Ithel edited his work, a fourth manuscript, the *Cronica de Wallia*, was discovered in Exeter Cathedral Library. Written at the Cistercian house of Whitland at the end of the thirteenth century, the *Cronica de Wallia* covers only the period from 1190 to 1266, and has lacunae for the years 1217–27, 1229, 1232, 1249–53 and 1263.[27] The *Cronica* is also a work of narrower scope than the version of the *Brut* or the *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, for it appears that political considerations led the

[22] John Williams ab Ithel, as quoted in *B. Saes.*, p. xli.

[23] Ibid., p. xiv.

[24] *AC*, pp. ix–xi. William ab Ithel's consultation of the TNA manuscript and the Breviate Domesday is incomplete in his edition of the *AC*. See Kathleen Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and related texts', Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1973), 3–4.

[25] *BT. Pen.*, p. xl.

[26] Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles', 26.

[27] The *Cronica de Wallia* does not describe events beyond 1266. Dr Flower suggests that the hand of the scribe dates this work to *c.*1280. See Thomas Jones, '"Cronica de Wallia" and other documents from Exeter Cathedral Library Ms 3514', *BBCS*, 12 (1948), 28–9. Jones believes that internal evidence points to Strata Florida as the place of composition.

author to confine the majority of his observations to events in Deheubarth.[28]

The four main chronicles of the period provide some of our best information on Wales and its role in the crusades. Welsh crusaders are specifically mentioned on two occasions. In 1128 (the original texts suggest 1125), Morgan ap Cadwgan undertook to go to Jerusalem as a crusader for penance after murdering his brother, Maredudd, and died in Cyprus on his return. The *Brenhinedd*, *Annales* and Peniarth MS of the *Brut* say only that Morgan went to Jerusalem after killing his brother, but the Red Book of Hergest version is more specific, saying: 'At the close of that year Morgan ap Cadwgan died in Cyprus on his way back from Jerusalem, after having gone as a crusader [a chroes] to Jerusalem because he had before that killed Maredudd, his brother.'[29] The dating of Morgan ap Cadwgan's decision to take the Cross could be significant. He had killed his brother in 1125, but it was not until the end of 1128 that he set out for Jerusalem. In 1128 Hugh de Payens, master of the Templars, visited western Europe in an attempt to raise troops in support of the Holy Land.[30] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions that Hugh visited Scotland and England.[31] On such a tour, it seems unlikely that Hugh would have neglected to spread his plea for assistance to Wales, even though he did not take the time to visit it in person. In his notes on this entry in the *Brut*, Thomas Jones writes that, since both the Peniarth MS 20 and the *Brenhinedd* state that Morgan went on crusade at the end of 1128, his death would have occurred some time in the following year.[32] Although the names of those who responded to Hugh's appeal and fought in Damascus in November 1129 are not recorded, perhaps because no notable westerners joined

[28] It appears that the aim of the *Cronica de Wallia* may well have been to reinforce the claims of Rhys Gryg's descendants to 'a reintegrated Ystrad Twyi centred on Dinefwr' between 1277 and 1283. See J. Beverley Smith, 'The "Cronica de Wallia" and the dynasty of Dinefwr. A textual and historical study', *BBCS*, 20 (1963), 261–82.

[29] *BT. RBH.*, p. 111.

[30] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, H. E. Mayer and G. Rösch, 2 vols (Turnhout, Brepols, 1986), I, pp. 553, 620.

[31] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. G. N. Garmonsway (London, 1953), p. 259.

[32] *BT. RBH.*, p. 289.

him, it is conceivable that Morgan fought at the siege before embarking on his homeward journey and dying in the winter of 1129.[33] It is of course possible that the time delay between the murder of Maredudd and Morgan's departure was the result of domestic delays and problems of financing, and that he was in no way influenced by Hugh of Payens's visit. However, when considering the possibility it is worth remembering that murder and fratricide were common at the time in Wales, and that such guilt was rarely acted upon. Commenting on Morgan's decision to atone for his crime, R. R. Davies wrote:

> It was rare indeed for remorse to be shown . . . It is little wonder that the English administration in Shropshire felt that it need not bestir itself to suppress Powys, for the Welsh (as it was observed with mordant satisfaction), 'were all killing one another'.[34]

The next reference to crusaders occurs in 1144, when a group of Welsh pilgrims (from Dyfed and Ceredigion, according to the *Annales*) were drowned on their way to Jerusalem.[35] The texts refer to them as pilgrims ('pereinyon' in the Red Book, 'pererinion' in the *Brenhinedd* and 'Peregrini' in the *Annales*), but as there was no Welsh word for 'crusader' at the time, this need not imply that they were not armed and intended to fight; Tyerman says that this 'terminological vagueness' was prevalent in the twelfth century. 'To put it crudely,' he continues, '*we* know they were crusaders: *they* did not.'[36] Indeed, the reference to Morgan ap Cadwgan as a crusader in the Red Book of Hergest version cited above might have been a later interpolation on the part of the scribe, who had such vocabulary at his disposal when translating from the Latin original. The *Brenhinedd*, Red Book and Peniarth MS

[33] Jonathan Phillips, 'Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade', in Malcolm Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot, 1994), p. 145.

[34] R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000), p. 72.

[35] *BT. RBH.*, p. 119; *AC*, p. 43; *BT. Pen.*, p. 53; *B. Saes.*, p. 149. These areas had large settlements of Flemings, and it is possible that this refers to participants among the Flemish, although there is no definitive proof. For Flemish settlements, see Davies, *Age*, pp. 98–9.

[36] Christopher Tyerman, 'Were there any crusades in the twelfth century?', *EHR*, 110 (1995), 555.

20 all refer to the participants in the Fifth Crusade in the same way, and so it is fair to conclude that the unfortunate pilgrims of 1144 were in fact crusaders.[37]

Chronicle entries referring to Welsh involvement in the crusades cease after 1144. This does not mean that no other Welshmen set out on crusade, for we know from the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* that they did.[38] When direct references to involvement disappear, it becomes necessary to consider instead the level of interest in crusading demonstrated in the chronicles, for this provides some idea of the Welsh attitude to the crusades. The earliest reference to crusade activity is in 1094, when Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, went to Jerusalem 'to fight against Saracens and to defend Christendom'; the Red Book of Hergest and *Annales* report his return in 1100.[39] The entries relating to the First Crusade are brief and confine themselves to the participation of Robert Curthose. This is by no means unusual, nor does it imply a lack of interest in crusading: fighting in the East by the Normans had been taking place throughout the eleventh century, so the absence of Robert would not have aroused undue interest.[40] Moreover, at that time people were not aware that the events of 1095–9 marked the beginning of a new movement that was to change the geography and politics of Europe and the Mediterranean. The context of this particular entry is also worthy of consideration. While the *Brenhinedd* says that Robert 'won the greatest renown in the world' during his time in Jerusalem, it is not interested in the events of the First Crusade.[41] Robert's departure for Jerusalem and his subsequent absence until 1100 is mentioned only in order to explain William Rufus's motivation for going to fight in Normandy. Furthermore, the lack of

[37] *BT. Pen.*, p. 97; *B. Saes.*, p. 221; *BT. RBH.*, p. 219.

[38] *Itin. Per.*, p. 344.

[39] *BT. Pen.*, p. 19. The date of this entry is clearly wrong; Robert did not lease Normandy to his brother William to finance his crusade until 1096.

[40] In 1071 the Byzantine government asked Norman knights to aid them in defeating a local rebellion. The Normans kindly obliged, but then would not leave, and instead set about systematically conquering sections of the Byzantine Empire, until by the 1070s and 1080s the Normans, under Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, were threatening Constantinople and Thessalonika. Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 11–12.

[41] *B. Saes.*, p. 87.

praise for Robert's exploits against the infidels is in marked contrast to the Peniarth MS 20's description of the invasion of England in 1066 as 'glorious war' in the same sentence.[42]

The Second Crusade is treated in almost the same off-hand manner; it is not even mentioned in the *Annales*. The *Brut* and the *Brenhinedd* simply state that Louis VII and the German Emperor Conrad III went to Jerusalem with a large number of their own nobility.[43] There is no mention of the loss of Edessa that shocked the rest of Europe, or of the Anglo-Flemish contingent that conquered Lisbon.[44] English participation in the Second Crusade was restricted to this contingent, and it tended then, as well as now, to be overshadowed by the journeys of Louis and Conrad. The Second Crusade was, with the exception of the conquest of Lisbon, a failure, and so perhaps it is not surprising that events in the East were not thought worthy of inclusion.

The *Brut*, *Brenhinedd* and *Annales* fall silent on events related to crusading until the years immediately before the Third Crusade, a fact that is hardly surprising, since there were no general *passagia* in the intervening years that might have caught the attention of the annalists. In the entry for 1185, the *Brut* and *Brenhinedd* mention the visit of Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and his subsequent return with 'a multitude of knights and foot-soldiers'.[45] All three state that the patriarch was having problems with Jews as well as Saracens in the Holy City, suggesting that the Welsh chroniclers considered them an equal threat, even though it was the Saracens under Saladin who were creating difficulties for the Levantine settlers. The *Annales* does not refer to the patriarch's visit, but is unique among the chronicles in mentioning Archbishop Baldwin's preaching tour of Wales, which it places a year too early, in 1187. The *Annales* seems to be aware of his basic itinerary, explaining that he visited the south, St David's and then north Wales, before returning to England.[46] The *Brutiau* and *Brenhinedd* do not refer to

[42] *BT. Pen.*, p. 19.

[43] *BT. RBH.*, p. 125; *BT. Pen.*, p. 55; *B. Saes.*, p. 151.

[44] The conquest of Lisbon is covered in a contemporary account of its own. See David, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.

[45] *BT. RBH.*, p. 169; *BT. Pen.*, p. 72; *B. Saes.*, p. 185.

[46] *AC*, p. 56.

this tour, or to the involvement of the Welsh, even though the journey lasted for six weeks and, according to Gerald of Wales, 'three thousand men were signed with the Cross'.[47] The omission could be explained as a reaction to the subjugation of St David's to Canterbury, which, by the time of the composition of the *Cronica Principum Walliae*, was complete; although Baldwin's visit is not mentioned, neither is that of Archbishop Pecham in June to August of 1284.[48] It is possible that omission of references to the tour was not due to a lack of interest in crusading, but because the author did not wish to highlight Canterbury's dominance over the Welsh church. The entries for 1188 and 1190 show Archbishop Baldwin taking the Cross and departing for Jerusalem, respectively.[49] The *Cronica de Wallia* also tells us that Baldwin went to the Holy Land in 1190, and all inform of his subsequent death in 1191.[50] The author of the Latin original from which the Welsh chronicles derived and the later scribes clearly saw it as a wholly French and Anglo-Norman undertaking, with no attempts to recruit in Wales and with no Welsh involvement, even though we know this was not the case.

As the Welsh were not asked to contribute to the Saladin Tithe, the Welsh chronicles do not complain of financial exactions made in 1188.[51] Instead, their complaints in the years surrounding the Third Crusade were reserved for the levy that was imposed in 1193 to raise money for Richard I's ransom. The Red Book of Hergest version complains:

> And for his release there was an immense tax over the face of the whole of England, so much so that neither churchman nor monk had either gold or silver to his name, not even in the chalices and furnishings of the churches, which he had not to place all into the hands of the officers of the king and the realm, to be given for his ransom.[52]

[47] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1978), p. 204; Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. James F. Dimock, 8 vols (London, 1868), VI, p. 147 (*Itinerarium Kambriae*).

[48] *BT. Pen.*, p. 121; *B. Saes.*, p. 259.

[49] *BT. RBH.*, pp. 171, 173; *BT. Pen.*, pp. 73, 74; *B. Saes.*, p. 187.

[50] Jones, 'Cronica de Wallia', p. 29; *BT. Pen.*, p. 74; *B. Saes.*, p. 189; *BT. RBH.*, p. 173.

[51] E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford, 1985), p. 121.

[52] *BT. RBH.*, p. 173. The *Cronica de Wallia* also mentions a tax 'collectio per totam Angliam' (see Thomas Jones, 'Cronica de Wallia', p. 29). The Peniarth MS 20 version gives an almost identical description of the impact of the financial demands

Demands for money were, of course, never looked upon favourably. The Cistercians did not possess such luxurious items, so their wool crop was taken to help with the ransom.[53] Given that the Welsh versions of the lost *Cronica de Principum Walliae* were translated at Cistercian monasteries, complaints about this confiscation might have been expected, but they are entirely absent, and the chronicles focus instead on the removal of altar plate, which affected the churches. It is possible that at the time, the Welsh Cistercians did not produce wool in sufficient quantities for its confiscation to be too keenly felt; the earliest known licence to export their wool appears to have been granted to the monks of Strata Florida in 1212, so it is possible that in 1193 wool production was still in its infancy on the Cistercians' estates in Wales.[54]

If references to the major crusades have so far been brief, it is perhaps no surprise that the authors and copyists of all the chronicles omit mention of the Fourth Crusade. The most obvious reason for this is the lack of major participation on the part of the Welsh, English and Scottish. Abbot Eustace of St Germar de Flay undertook preaching campaigns in England in 1200 and 1201, but they roused little enthusiasm. The Fourth Crusade's biggest impact in England appears to have been in the arrival of the 'supernatural bounty' from the Byzantine Empire that was circulating around Europe after 1204.[55] The names of several Scottish crusaders are known, but the Fourth Crusade was predominantly a Franco-Venetian enterprise. Yet the events that occurred in Constantinople provided one of Welsh literature's more popular themes: the defeat of the Greeks. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the*

(*BT. Pen.*, p. 74); the *Brenhinedd* states only that the church had to 'pledge the chalices of the monasteries and the churches, and their gold vessels' (*B. Saes.*, p. 189).

[53] John Gillingham, *Richard I* (Yale, 1999), p. 239; Ralph V. Turner and Richard R. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189–1999* (Harlow, 2000), p. 138.

[54] D. H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster, 2001), p. 258; the southern monasteries were famous for their wool by the close of the thirteenth century, but the Cistercian foundations of the north concentrated on farming cattle 'to supply the English garrison towns'. J. L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy, 1150–1500* (London, 1980), p. 85.

[55] Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003), pp. 112–13; Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusades, 1206–1307* (Oxford, 1988), p. 47.

Kings of Britain has a distinct anti-Greek element. While this may partly be a result of the attitude of the Greeks during the First Crusade (Geoffrey finished his work *c.*1136), the Welsh animosity towards the Greeks sprang from tales in which Brutus and the Trojans defeated the Greeks at Sparatinum. Geoffrey's aim was to show the might of the Trojans, from whom he claimed the Welsh were descended. It is curious that the Welsh chroniclers did not use the defeat of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 as a way of once again enhancing the status of Wales, especially as at the time when the *Brut*, *Brenhinedd* and *Annales* were written, Wales was still struggling to hold off the onslaught of the Anglo-Norman invaders. The fall of Constantinople to the participants of the Fourth Crusade went unnoticed in Wales.

The Fifth Crusade is the most extensively covered of all the crusades in the chronicles, being described in some detail in the entries for 1218, 1219 and 1221.[56] The entry for 1218 in the Peniarth MS 20 version of the *Brut*, for example, names three noble participants: 'In that year many Crusaders went to Jerusalem, along with whom went the earl of Chester and earl Ferrars and Brian de L'Ille [*sic*] and many of the leading men of England.'[57] The *Brenhinedd* omits Brian d'Isle from its list of participants, and both it and the Red Book of Hergest version of the *Brut* substitute the Earl Marshal for Earl Ferrers of Derby.[58] The *Annales* does not name any crusaders at all. The chronicles are correct in stating that the earls of Hereford and Derby and Brian d'Isle assisted at the siege of Damietta, but William Marshal did not. In 1218, he was acting as regent for the infant Henry III and would have been in no position to embark upon a major expedition to Egypt; furthermore, he was certainly in England in 1219, as he died

[56] The years covering the events of the Fifth Crusade are largely missing from the *Cronica de Wallia*. *BT. Pen.*, pp. 96–9; *BT. RBH.*, pp. 219, 223; *B. Saes.*, pp. 221–5; *AC*, pp. 74–5.

[57] *BT. Pen.*, p. 96; the earl of Chester remained in Egypt until the end of 1219, returning after Damietta had fallen to the Christians. While there, he gave money to the Templars for the construction of a fort and was involved in the decision-making regarding the siege. See J. W. Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester: A Relic of the Conquest* (Athens, GA, 1983), pp. 74–8.

[58] Brian d'Isle was custodian of several Yorkshire castles. *B. Saes.*, p. 221; *BT. RBH.*, p. 219.

in his manor at Caversham on 14 May of that year.[59] His son, also called William, was sometimes described as 'earl' in the years before his father died, but he did not participate in the Crusade, either. Thomas Jones and R. T. Jenkins suggest that the confusion surrounding the earl's involvement stems from confusion over the translation of the word 'ferrarius', although it is possible that the annalist, knowing that William Marshal had taken the Cross in 1216–17 in support of King John, assumed that he had subsequently gone on crusade.[60]

The entries on the Fifth Crusade are unique in the Welsh chronicles for the level of information they provide on the details of the campaigns in the East. The *Brenhinedd* tells us that once the forces reached Damietta 'they besieged the fortress and overcame it. And the castle which was in the middle of the river, built upon ships, that the pilgrims won by scaling it after many of the Saracens had been slain.'[61] The castle referred to was the Tower of the Chains, which controlled access to the Nile, and it is correct that it was taken after being 'scaled' by the crusaders; a special wooden drawbridge construction was built on top of a ship's mast, which was then high enough to be lowered on to the castle battlements. All three Welsh chronicles also tell how the Muslims defeated the Crusaders in 1221:

> That year the host of the Christians went from Damietta in Egypt towards Babylon [Cairo] with the intent of laying siege to it. But God's vengeance did not allow them: for the river Nile flooded their way and shut them in between two rivers so that countless numbers of them were drowned. And then the Saracens came upon them and slew many of them and carried off others into bondage.[62]

[59] David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147–1219* (2nd edn; Harlow, 2002), pp. 138–42.

[60] Ibid., p. 121; *BT. Pen.*, p. 200.

[61] *B. Saes.*, p. 221. The *Brutiau* also refer to the capture of a castle in the middle of the river. *BT. RBH.*, p. 219; *BT. Pen.*, p. 97. This was the chain tower, which rose from the water, making it necessary to attack it by boat. It was connected to Damietta by a bridge of boats. The tower was eventually taken in August 1218, but only after many failed attempts and a final assault in which the crusaders lost many men. For an account of the assault on the chain tower, see James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 141–4.

[62] For an account of the events described in the *Brut*, see ibid., pp. 188–9; *BT. RBH.*, p. 223.

What had actually occurred was no natural (or divine!) phenomenon: al-Kamil, the Ayyubud Sultan of Egypt, had ordered the opening of the sluice-gates on the Nile, which, because the river was particularly high at that time of year, caused the surrounding countryside to flood.[63] The fact that the Welsh chronicles attribute this misfortune to the will of God does not mean that the Welsh were unaware of the true cause of the flooding, for most events that befell crusaders, both good and bad, were attributed by commentators to the Almighty.

The greater amount of information on the Fifth Crusade contained in the *Brutiau* stems, in all likelihood, from the relationship between Gwynedd and Cheshire in the years immediately before and after the Crusade. Ranulf departed for the East soon after concluding a peace with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and was greeted by him upon his return in 1220.[64] Two years later Llywelyn married his daughter Helen to John the Scot, ward of, and heir to, the earldom of Chester, 'for the purpose of affecting a lasting peace between himself and the earl of Chester'.[65] It is conceivable that the close contact between the courts of Llywelyn and the earl facilitated the spread of information regarding the crusade into Wales: the fact that Llywelyn was in Chester when the earl returned suggests that he was aware of his progress from Damietta, and the earl was no doubt quick to tell of his exploits in the East. This link between north Wales and Cheshire may also explain why the *Cronica de Wallia* has lacunae for the years 1217–27, when the pivotal events of the Fifth Crusade took place; if the inclusion of information regarding this particular crusade was the result of northern links, it would have been of little interest to a scribe writing predominantly about Deheubarth.[66]

[63] Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 189.

[64] *Annales Cestrienses: or, the Chronicle of the Abbey of S. Werburg at Chester*, ed. Richard Copley Christie (Chester, 1887), p. 51. For the impact of good relations on crusade participation in the period immediately after the Fifth Crusade, see chapter 3, p. 120, of this volume.

[65] Ibid., p. 53; *The Acts of the Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, ed. Huw Pryce with Charles Insey (Cardiff, 2005), pp. 412–14.

[66] The *Annales Cestrienses* only relates the fall of Damietta to the crusaders in November 1219, and the departure and return of Ranulf, earl of Chester. These

In the period covered by the Welsh chronicles, crusading began to be utilised in struggles against those whom the church claimed as its enemies.[67] In England, this first occurred during the struggle between King John, a papal vassal, and his barons. Both versions of the *Brut y Tywysogyon* record that in 1215 King John entered into a dispute with his barons 'and, as was said, for fear of them . . . took the Cross'.[68] John had not been struck by a sudden bout of remorse over his actions towards these barons; he did it as a way of gaining papal support against them. The Red Book version also mentions the assumption of the Cross by the infant Henry III at his coronation in 1216, at a time when the conflict begun in his father's reign was still unresolved.[69] The conflict between Simon de Montfort and Henry III continued to be described in crusading terms by the earl's more fervent admirers: Simon was a 'miles Christi', on whose side, according to the *Song of Lewes*, stood God.[70] The Welsh chronicles, however, take a more neutral tone, showing the conflict in a political rather than a religious light:

> Henry . . . gathered a mighty host of earls and barons who joined with him; and on Tuesday next after August he came to the field of Evesham. And against him came earl Simon and his host to fight with him. And in that fighting fell Simon and his sons and most of the nobles who supported him.[71]

Although at the time of the battle of Evesham Simon de Montfort was on good terms with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, in previous years he had acted against the Welsh on behalf of the English king; depicting Simon as a crusader would have glorified a man who joined Henry III on the Welsh campaign

brief entries are typical of the *Annales*, which contains only brief entries. *Annales Cestrienses*, p. 51.

[67] Joseph R. Strayer, 'The political crusades of the thirteenth century', in Robert Lee Wolff and Harry W. Hazard (eds), *A History of the Crusades Vol II: The Later Crusades, 1189–1311* (London, 1969), pp. 343–75; Simon Lloyd, '"Political crusades" in England, *c.*1215–17 and *c.*1263–5', in Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 113–20.

[68] *BT. RBH.*, p. 201.

[69] Ibid., p. 211.

[70] Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1999), p. 14; *The Song of Lewes*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1890; repr. 1963), p. 41, l.370.

[71] *BT. Pen.*, p. 114.

of 1245.[72] Although the Welsh chronicles were aware that John had taken the Cross in 1215, they did not liken his conflict with the barons to the Crusade; the same neutral tone pervades the entry relating to the battle of Evesham. The Welsh were not the only ones to see Simon in this light, for not all of his English commentators saw him as a knight of Christ.[73] The accounts of the battle in the Welsh sources portray Evesham as another bloody fight between the king and his barons, no different from those that came before or after. Perhaps Simon's hallowed image did not impact on the Welsh because, although he was initially successful in his conflict in England, in Wales Llywelyn ap Gruffydd was able to dictate terms in an agreement with Simon de Montfort which gave Llywelyn control of the middle March and recognition as prince of Wales, and which would not have fitted the image of Simon as a crusader supported by God.[74] The chronicles suggest that, although the Welsh were aware that John's assumption of the Cross was linked to fears over his conflict with the barons, the use of crusading in political conflicts in England was not fully appreciated by the Welsh scribes. This is interesting to note in the context of Anglo–Welsh relations, where crusading language and imagery were not adopted by the English crown, even during the wars of Edward I.[75]

The Fifth Crusade is unfortunately the first and last crusade that receives any noteworthy coverage in the *Brut*, *Brenhinedd* and *Annales*. Over the next half-century short references are made to the crusades of Richard of Cornwall (1240–1), Louis IX of France (1249) and the Lord Edward (1270), but none is covered by all four works. Only the *Annales* refers to Richard of Cornwall's Crusade, while the Peniarth MS 20 version of the *Brut* is the only one to inform us that 'Edward,

[72] In 1264 Simon signed an alliance with Llywelyn, and the Welsh prince was able to obtain a pardon, as well as the return of lands and the homage of other Welsh princes. *AWR*, pp. 533–6; John Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 337–8.

[73] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, Vol. I: c.550– c.1307* (London, 1974), pp. 404–38, 463–70.

[74] Davies, *Age*, p. 314.

[75] The political uses of the crusade in Anglo-Welsh religion and politics will be addressed in full in chapter 5.

son of King Henry, went to Jerusalem' and that he returned in 1274.[76] None deems it important enough to relate that his brother Edmund also went on the crusade, an omission that is surprising when it is remembered that the heir to the throne and his only surviving brother were undertaking what was still a very dangerous enterprise, and that when Henry III died his heir was still in the East.[77] Conversely, the Peniarth MS 20 version is the only chronicle to omit Louis IX's Crusade of 1249. The *Annales Cambriae* gives more detail than the other chronicles on the events surrounding Louis IX's Crusade, claiming that he took Damietta in 1249 before being taken prisoner by the pagans in 1251, and returned home in 1254 (also recorded in the *Cronica de Wallia*), but it is the only text not to state that Antioch fell to 'the Sultan of Babylon' in 1267.[78] It also mentions Louis's leadership of an army into 'Arabia' and his death there in the following year, entries which are clearly wrong, as Louis died at Tunis in 1270, not in 1266.[79] Louis's Crusade was a larger enterprise by far than that of Richard of Cornwall or the Lord Edward, and so it is not surprising that it received considerable attention in the Welsh chronicles. However, the omission of the Lord Edward's Crusade from the *Annales Cambriae* is something of a puzzle when the manuscript on which J. Williams ab Ithel based his edition is considered in its entirety. After 1263, the entries for this version lose interest in Welsh affairs. Kathleen Hughes, in her lecture on the texts relating to the *Annales*, wrote, 'The point of view completely changes. In the fourth and final section [of the manuscript] Edward is *rex illustris* . . . The annalist now is simply not interested in Welsh Wales.'[80] Despite this, the *Annales* does not feel it is impor-

[76] *AC*, p. 83. One of Richard's last acts before leaving on crusade was to make an agreement with Dafydd ap Llywelyn at Gloucester. N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1947), p. 41; *BT. Pen.*, pp. 115–16.

[77] Henry's other sons (Richard, John, William and Henry) all died young. Edmund at the time had no issue, and Edward had only two infant sons, who were to die in the early 1270s.

[78] *AC*, p. 88; Jones, 'Cronica de Wallia', p. 40; *BT. Pen.*, p. 115. The fall of Antioch to the Mamluks actually occurred in May 1218. See also *BT. RBH.*, p. 259; *B. Saes.*, p. 249.

[79] *AC*, p. 102.

[80] Kathleen Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles', 16. J. Williams ab Ithel believed that this tonal alteration came about in 1203 in the Breviate Domesday,

tant enough to tell us that the future king and his brother had gone on crusade in 1270. The author does think it necessary to relate that Edward's first-born son and heir died in 1271.[81] The omission of the first is hard to reconcile with the inclusion of the second, and so it can only be concluded that the author of the Breviate Domesday MS had only a limited interest in crusading.

The most important Welsh chronicles thus demonstrated an awareness both of ideas of crusading and of events in the Latin East, although the depth of knowledge and level of interest appears to have differed considerably from crusade to crusade. Crusaders themselves – Morgan ap Cadwgan and the pilgrims of 1144 – appear to have been referred to only because there was something notable about their involvement; Morgan's crusade was an act of penance, and the 1144 pilgrims all drowned. Other less significant crusaders, whose activities did not spark any interest, presumably did not warrant a mention. Of the crusades themselves, it is the Fifth that attracted the most attention, perhaps because of the friendly relationship between Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Earl Ranulf of Chester, one of the most important participants. After the death of both prince and earl the references to crusading return to occasional one-line entries, suggesting that the amicable relations between the two were particularly important for the transmission of crusade interest and information. This can also be seen in the poetry produced in Gwynedd in the thirteenth century, which is discussed below, and in the levels of crusade participation in the second half of the thirteenth century.[82]

The last set of annals produced in Wales to shed light on crusading is the Cambro-Latin *Annales de Margam*.[83] Written at the Cistercian abbey of Margam in Glamorgan in the late 1230s, the *Annales* used as its source an unknown text,

after which notices relating to Wales become less frequent and the entries become biased towards the English. *AC*, p. xxviii.

[81] Ibid., p. 103.

[82] See chapter 3 and appendices I and II.

[83] There are in fact two manuscripts of the Margam *Annales*. That used by Luard, Trinity College Cambridge MS 0.2.4, was written at Margam, while the second, Trinity College Dublin MS 507, was not. For this reason, references will be to Luard's edition, as printed in the *Annales Monastici*.

which Patterson believes was written in south Wales or the West Country, and bore no relation to the source material for the *Brutiau*.[84] Up to *c.*1185, the Margam *Annales* derives most of its content from other sources, notably William of Malmesbury, although the latter half of the *Annales*, which ends in 1232, appears to be independent of any surviving source.[85] However, although the *Annales* was written at Margam, it should be remembered that the abbey 'in the first century or so of its existence was predominantly pro-Norman'.[86] Therefore, although the information in the *Annales* demonstrates the level of knowledge and interest in crusading in Glamorgan, the fact that this area had been in the hands of the Anglo-Normans since the earliest days of the advance into Wales should be borne in mind.

Early references in the *Annales* to crusading shed more light on matters than the manuscripts of the *Brut* series, although as much of this information can be traced to William of Malmesbury (died 1143), its inclusion is of no great significance for understanding Welsh interest.[87] The first interesting entry occurs in 1163, when the annalist includes information on a heretical sect in Périgord (the Cathars), giving a lengthy account of the beliefs and practices of the heretics. The source of this information was undoubtedly Heribert of Périgord's letter warning Christendom of this heresy, and it was probably included under the entry for 1163 because in that year the Council of Tours was particularly concerned with the rise of the Cathars in southern France.[88] It is possible that the abbey held a copy of this letter, for the Dublin manuscript version of the *Annales* does not include this information. As for volume of information on the Cathar

[84] Robert B. Patterson, 'The author of the "Margam Annals": early thirteenth-century Margam Abbey's Compleat Scribe', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XIV (1995), 200.

[85] *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. xiii; F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349* (Cardiff, 1977), p. 150; the Margam *Annales*, for example, is the only work to refer to the murder of Arthur of Brittany in 1204. *Ann. Mon.*, I, pp. 27–8.

[86] Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 24.

[87] *Ann. Mon.*, I, pp. 6–7, 14.

[88] Ibid., p. 15; for a discussion of the letter as a source, see Claire Taylor, 'The Letter of Héribert of Périgord as a source for dualist heresy in the society of early-eleventh-century Aquitaine', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 313–49. The Margam annals also provide detail on the death of Arthur of Brittany, information which may have come from William de Braose. *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 27.

heresy in the chronicles produced in England generally during the same period, Vincent noted that they 'show more than usually sophisticated knowledge of the Cathar heresy'.[89] Although the detailed references to the Cathar heresy are unusual for a chronicle produced in Wales, the fact that they reflect current knowledge in England highlights the fact that Margam, founded by Norman settlers and heavily patronised by them, had strong links with writers in England, through whom they would have gained this information.

The entry for the year 1187 contains the first significant information on events in the Latin East that is markedly different from the entries in both versions of the *Brut*. They mention the fall of Jerusalem, but say nothing of the events that led up to this catastrophic event. The *Annales de Margam*, on the other hand, demonstrates detailed knowledge of the events preceding the fall of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade. The battle between the military orders and Saladin at the Springs of Cresson on 1 May is mentioned, together with the numbers of combatants.[90] The entry then goes on to explain the battle of Hattin on 4 July, where the True Cross was captured, and lists the cities Saladin went on to take.[91] Unlike the brief sentence on the fall of Jerusalem in the *Brutiau*, the *Annales* explains the siege that led to the fall of the city.[92] This information could have been derived from knowledge of the abbey's Anglo-Norman benefactors, who had acquired detailed information on the fall from sources in England. The addition of new detail of Richard's return from Crusade in the manuscript of the *Annales* suggests that the scribe received information on the events surrounding crusading from a number of sources, perhaps from those who had actually been with Richard in the East.[93] While these

[89] Nicholas Vincent, 'England and the Albigensian Crusade', in B. Weiler with I. W. Rowlands (eds), *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III* (Aldershot, 2002), p. 68.

[90] *Ann. Mon.*, I, pp. 18–19.

[91] Ibid., p. 19.

[92] Ibid., p. 19.

[93] Patterson, 'The author of the "Margam Annals"', 208; *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 22; Roger of Howden could have been a source here. Both he and the Margam *Annales* refer to the Cathar heresy, suggesting a possible transfer of knowledge regarding crusading between the two. Howden, *Chronica*, II, pp. 105–6, 150–66.

are the first notable entries relating to crusading in the Latin East, they are also the last. Two other references are made to the Crusades of Frederick II and his arrival at Tyre in 1228, and to the restoration of Jerusalem to the Christians, but whereas they give us information that is not contained in the *Brut*, the level of detail does not suggest a remarkable knowledge of events.[94]

The additional information contained in the Margam annals, and the author's sources of information, demonstrate again how the monastic communication network facilitated the spread of information to Wales. Margam Abbey stood in an area of Wales which had fallen under Norman control very early, and seems to have had a reasonably close relationship with its Norman neighbours and patrons. Either through these sources or via letters, such as that of Heribert of Périgord, Margam maintained external relations which connected the monks of the abbey with the rest of Britain and Europe, links which allowed the scribes of Margam to follow crusading activities in the Holy Land and the south of France.

The external relations maintained by the Welsh monasteries are also reflected by the light which the Margam annals shed on Welsh knowledge of, and interest in, crusading in the Iberian peninsula. The *Brut* and *Brenhinedd* both refer to crusading in Spain in 1212, when 'there was a battle in Spain between the Christians and the Saracens'.[95] The entry is referring to the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in July 1212, when Alfonso of Castile and the king of Navarre defeated the Almohads under Al-Nasir. The Margam annalist, however, had far greater knowledge of the events in Spain than either the *Brut* or *Brenhinedd*. As with the fall of Jerusalem, the Margam scribe seems well acquainted with the details of the battle: from the names of the participants to the layout of the terrain on which the battle was fought and the number of Saracen dead, which the scribe notes was 'about 60,000'.[96] References to Las Navas de Tolosa are hardly surprising when

[94] *Ann. Mon.*, I, pp. 36–7.

[95] *BT. RBH.*, p. 195.

[96] *Ann. Mon.*, I, pp. 31–2. The Peniarth version puts the death toll at 70,000 Saracen men. *BT. Pen.*, p. 86.

it is considered that the Saracen defeat in 1212 heralded the beginning of the final destruction of the Muslim kingdoms. That Cistercian monks wrote these chronicles makes it even less surprising. At the end of the entry for 1212 in the Margam annals the annalist tells us that the information about the battle came from a letter sent to the Cistercian chapter by the archbishop of Narbonne, the same letter included in the annals of the Cistercian house of Waverly in Surrey.[97] If such information were so widely disseminated between the religious of the Latin West, it would have been more surprising had the information from the letter been omitted from the annals produced in Wales.

Interest in Spanish crusading in the Margam *Annales* goes further than that in either the *Brutiau* or the *Brenhinedd*. Under the entry of 1225 the Margam annalist tells us of the final defeat of 'more than forty Saracen kings' by only four Christian kings, which led to the retreat of the Almohads from Spain.[98] In this entry, the 'blessed Apostle James and St George the Martyr' (the patron saints of Castile and Catalonia respectively) come to the aid of the Christian army and led them into battle. The entry refers to a rout which occurred near Alange, when Ibn Hud was supposedly defeated by the Christian knights, accompanied by a vision of St James, although this happened in 1229, not 1225. No other Welsh chronicle mentions the battle or the miraculous arrival of the saints, suggesting that once again the author of the Margam *Annales* had an independent source that was keeping him informed on events in the Iberian peninsula, or that the scribe had access to the work of the Spanish annalist Lucas de Túy, who also referred to the appearance of St James.[99]

Not only the battles and mass expeditions caught the attention of the Welsh annalists. More mundane matters relating to crusading also found their way into the chronicles, perhaps because they touched more directly on the

[97] *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 32; *Annales Monasterii de Waverlia*, in *Ann. Mon.*, II, pp. 271–3.

[98] *Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 34.

[99] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 89. For the invocation of saints in battle, see ibid., pp. 193–9. Lomax gives 1230 as the date of the attack on Ibn Hud. D. W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London, 1978), p. 142.

inhabitants of Wales. In the thirteenth century, this was especially true as the greater organisational powers of the church began to be felt in Wales. The *Annales Cambriae*, the only chronicle to record Baldwin's preaching in 1188, is also the only work to refer to Friar Anian's crusade preaching 'in West Wallia' in 1236.[100] The dating of its reference is interesting, since it shows that Wales was included in the friars' crusade preaching during the years when Gregory IX had decided to use the mendicants '*en bloc* to broadcast propaganda' for all crusades; the friars only took over from diocesan clergy and prelates in 1234–5.[101] The changes in crusade organisation were clearly known to the Welsh; the *Brut* and *Brenhinedd* refer to the Fourth Lateran Council of December 1215, at which 'the aiding of the land of Jerusalem, which had been oppressed by Saracens done many years before that, was discussed'.[102] The bishop of St David's, Peter de Leia (1176–98) had attended the Third Lateran Council of 1179, but no mention is made of his presence or of the decrees of the council.[103] The inclusion of information on the Fourth Lateran Council suggests that the Welsh were aware of the important changes to church organisation discussed there, especially with regard to the recovery of the Holy Land, and that these changes were felt in Wales.[104]

As part of his attempts to secure the safety of the Holy Land, Innocent III was concerned with raising revenue in order to fund expeditions to the East. In this light it is hardly surprising that the first references to crusade taxation in the Welsh chronicles come in the entry for 1201, only three years after Innocent had become pope. In this year, the annals complain that Pope Innocent 'violently exacted [*violenter exegit*] a tithe from the Cistercians for the aid of the Holy Land'.[105] The *Annales*'s protest against the tax was probably a

[100] *AC*, p. 82.

[101] Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 34; Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 53.

[102] *BT. Pen.*, p. 91.

[103] Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera*, I, pp. 48–9 (*De Rebus*).

[104] For the decrees of the Council regarding the Holy Land, see *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols (Georgetown, 1990), I, pp. 267–71.

[105] *AC*, p. 63. The *RBH* fails to mention the tithe, but notes that in the same year 'the earth quaked in Jerusalem'. *BT. RBH.*, p. 185.

reflection of the fact that it was composed by the Cistercians: although the Cistercians only had to pay one-fiftieth compared to the clergy's fortieth, the tax was ill received and the Cistercians ended up paying only a lump sum of 2,000 marks.[106] The *Annales* also refers to the collection of a subsidy for the Holy Land in 1216 from which the Cistercians were exempt, and the tenth exacted for six years in 1273 [1274], but these are the only taxes they mention.[107] The *Brutiau*, *Brenhinedd* and *Annales de Margam* do not mention any crusade-linked taxation at all. The omission of the tax of 1263 is surprising, in the light of the fact that Urban IV granted Richard, bishop of St David's, 'a commission for preaching the Cross in Wales in favour of an aid for the said land'.[108] It is of course possible that civil war prevented a thorough collection, thus lessening the impact of the tax in Wales.[109]

Although these works are the only surviving chronicles from medieval Wales, a final key work, the *Cronica Walliae*, written in 1559 by the Denbighshire scholar Humphrey Llwyd, should also be considered in conjunction with these works.[110] Although it is a later work, it is reliable, and Llwyd's work is of particular importance because he suggests that he used a now lost Welsh source for much of his information. Llwyd himself refers to this source as 'the Welsh historie' or 'the British booke', although some suggest that the *Cronica* was the result of his reading of one of the versions of the *Brut*.[111] There are, however, enough deviations from the information provided by the Welsh chronicles to suggest that Llwyd did indeed have another source, or that he used a combination of several works. Llwyd mentions Matthew Paris, Gerald of Wales and Henry of Huntingdon, among others, as his sources. Llwyd's passage on Morgan ap Cadwgan's death in 1128 appears to have been taken directly from one of these works, but other sections provide more information than exists in any of them. Although there are fewer refer-

[106] William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, MA, 1939), pp. 240–1.
[107] *AC*, pp. 72–3, 104, 243.
[108] T. Matthews (ed.), *Welsh Records in Paris* (Carmarthen, 1910), p. 72.
[109] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 291.
[110] Humphrey Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*, ed. Ieuan M. Williams (Cardiff, 2002).
[111] Ibid., p. 16.

ences to crusading in the *Cronica Walliae* than in the *Brutiau*, *Brenhinedd* or *Annales*, what does exist tends to go into more detail. Llwyd describes Richard I's crusade:

> And about this tyme Kinge Richearde wane the Kingedome of Cyprus, and gave hit to Guido Kinge of Jerusalem, upon condicioun he shulde release to Richarde his claime of Jerusalem, which he dyd . . . And Kinge Richarde, after he had atcheved, with his nobles, the Earle of Leycester, Bartholomewe Mortimer, Radulph de Malo Leone, Andrew de Chevegny, Gerarde de Furnevale, Roger de Lacy, William de Stagno, Hugh de Nevalla, William de Porcell and Henry Duthe his standardberer, many worthy deedes of arms against the infidelles, in his returninge home throughe Austrych was taken prisoner until suche a tyme as he had payed 20,000 marks for his ransom.[112]

Llwyd's work also gives us the name of another participant in the Fifth Crusade: William, earl of Arundel.[113] It seems most likely that Llwyd's knowledge of William's involvement would come, not from a Welsh source, but from the fact that, after 1553, Llwyd was in the service of the earl of Arundel. He adds details about other crusading incidents that are not present in the Welsh sources. He specifies that upon his return from the Holy Land, Robert Curthose landed 'at Portesmouth', names 'William de Longa Sparta, the yonger' as the earl of Cornwall's companion in 1240, and explains that while in Acre the Lord Edward 'was in daunger to be slayne by a villaine which gave him five wounds with a knife'.[114] Since this additional information is not taken from the identified sources Llwyd used, it is reasonable to conclude that the lost 'Welsh historie' may have provided him with this material.[115] This suggests that crusading interest in Wales was greater than the surviving texts indicate; greater attention was paid to the minutiae of events surrounding this very Anglocentric enterprise.

The number of references to the events which occurred in the Holy Land between 1095 and 1282 shows that the Welsh

[112] *Cron. Wall.*, p. 176. Angevin officials actually raised 100,000 marks for his ransom. John Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978), p. 229.

[113] *Cron. Wall.*, p. 199.

[114] Ibid., pp. 130, 206, 208. This William is William Longsword, who also went on crusade in 1249.

[115] Many of the sources Llwyd used are unidentifiable

were aware of, and interested in, the fate of the Holy Land and the efforts of the crusaders to defeat the Muslim enemy. Although the chronicles were composed by scribes working in monasteries, they must have garnered their information from those who lived beyond the cloister, either through correspondence or at meetings with those who imparted this information. The Cistercian order, in whose monasteries these works were produced, was intimately connected with crusading (as Archbishop Baldwin's preaching tour of 1188 suggests), so their role as recorders of these events in Wales is not surprising. The Cistercians were by far the most popular monastic order in Wales, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the information contained in their chronicles would have been common knowledge where monk and Welshman met and exchanged conversation. This awareness must have played some part in stirring up crusade enthusiasm; perhaps the specific inclusion of references to Morgan ap Cadwgan and the pilgrims of 1144 was a result of Cistercians influencing their decision to go to Jerusalem. The references to the Spanish *Reconquista* in the Margam *Annales* suggest a particular link between that monastery and Spanish interests. The chronicles also show an awareness of the political uses of the crusade. In many cases the scribes working in Wales were well informed about events occurring hundreds, if not thousands, of miles away, and were often sensible to the political, social and religious undercurrents which influenced the crusade movement.[116]

III Poetry

If the two versions of the *Brut* provide a historical background to Wales in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the work of the poets of the princes gives an indication of the preoccupations and interests of the ruling classes of *Pura Wallia*.[117]

[116] Kathryn Hurlock, *Crusades and Crusading in the Welsh Annalistic Chronicles*, Trivium Occasional Papers, 5 (2009), 25–30.

[117] For the function and role of Welsh court poetry, see Peredur I. Lynch, 'Court poetry, power and politics', in T. M. Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen and Paul Russell (eds), *The Welsh King and His Court* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 167–90; Dafydd Jenkins, '*Bardd teulu* and *pencerdd*', in ibid., pp. 142–66.

Divided into two types, the *pencerdd* (master poet) and the *bardd teulu* (poet of the war-band), the poets were an integral part of the Welsh princely court, and as such their reaction to the crusading movement merits consideration. However, it should be remembered that the bards 'composed their works self-consciously with a common tradition; they . . . drew upon a uniform literary language and common stock of law and mythology'.[118] Poetry thus conformed to an established idea of acceptable themes and phraseology that limited the scope and contents of works. Much of the poetry had a militaristic theme celebrating victory in battle, with elegies commemorating the warrior-princes who fought against their enemies, often to the death.[119] The themes of bardic poetry tended to restrict themselves to the activities of the princes, or were in praise of the beauty of Wales. The problem of determining the interest in original themes was succinctly observed by Lynch in his work on court poetry:

> As with Irish poetry, it is necessary to sift through endless heaps of stock images and recurring themes before being able to identify what Katherine Simms, in the Irish context, has called 'the comparatively few verses that contain original matter prompted by the particular moment in time and patron in question'.[120]

Although crusade participation had begun in 1096, references to crusading and crusade themes took a long time to emerge in Welsh poetry. It was not until the first half of the thirteenth century that the crusades begin to make an appearance; interestingly, this occurred in north Wales, where crusade participation appears to have taken longer to establish itself.[121] Elidir Sais, at the turn of the thirteenth century, lamented the fall of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre to the Muslims, led by Saladin.[122] Stephens saw the inclusion of the loss of Jerusalem in Elidir's work as evidence that the idea

[118] Davies, *Age*, p. 17.

[119] 'The death of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd', by Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch, is a good example of such work, praising Llywelyn's fine qualities and lamenting the loss of his rule. See Gwyn Williams, *Welsh Poems: Sixth Century to 1600* (London, 1973), pp. 46–8.

[120] Lynch, 'Court poetry, power and politics', p. 168.

[121] See below, chapter 3 and appendix I.

[122] *Hen gerddi crefyddol*, ed. Henry Lewis (Cardiff, 1974), p. 75, ll.47–50; *Gwaith*

of crusading 'had taken deep root in the public mind', but Elidir's work does not appear to have been typical of the poets of his age. McKenna argues the opposite view, namely that Elidir's reference is 'unusual in that it incorporates comment on political events'.[123] Apart from the fact that it was thematically different from other works, Elidir was not a typical bard. His name is in itself significant: Sais implies that he lived for some time in England, and could thus have been influenced by the events that precipitated the Third Crusade while he was there. What Elidir's reference to Jerusalem shows us is borne out by his poem to Llywelyn, in which the destruction undertaken in the name of achieving material glory on earth is meaningless in the face of the censure it will bring on the day of the Last Judgement.[124]

Elidir's dislike of worldly violence was, however, a secondary theme in this particular work; his purpose in writing was to criticise Llywelyn ab Iorwerth for the seizure of Dafydd ab Owain's lands in Gwynedd in 1197, which led to the latter's exile in England. Llywelyn can hardly have been pleased by the criticism, but Elidir's choice of imagery, driven by his religious devotion, and the fact that he felt that his choice of words would impart to Llywelyn the level of his disapproval shows that the prince and his court must have had knowledge of the events leading up to the Third Crusade; if not, the comparison would have been meaningless.

Elidir was not the only poet to refer to the themes of crusade in his poetry. Both Einion Wan (*fl.*1230–45) and Llywarch ap Llywelyn (also known as Prydydd y Moch, *fl.*1173–1220) employed motifs from the romance tales of Charlemagne, whose fame at this time was often associated with the crusades. Llywarch likened himself to Roland's horn in praising Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and Einion Wan invested Llywelyn's son Gruffydd with the qualities of Charlemagne.[125]

Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion, ed. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, Peredur I. Lynch and R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff, 1994), p. 337.

[123] Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 342; Catherine A. McKenna, *The Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric: Gogynfeirdd, 1137–1282* (Belmont, MA, 1991), p. 53.

[124] Andrew Breese, *Medieval Welsh Literature* (Dublin, 1997), p. 47.

[125] *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'*, ed. Elin M. Jones and Nerys Ann Jones (Cardiff, 1991), p. 219; *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd Hanner Cyntaf y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg*, ed. R. Geraint Gruffydd, Nerys Ann Jones, Peredur I. Lynch,

Catherine McKenna, referring to the use of motifs in Welsh poetry, concluded, 'it is possible that he [Elidir Sais] and Llywarch ap Llywelyn were acquainted'.[126] The fact that all three poets demonstrate an interest in both the events and themes of crusading and were working in Gwynedd at the time of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth suggests that there was a definite interest in crusading among the nobility of Gwynedd. If the work of these poets is taken in isolation, the case for crusade interest is not particularly strong, but when the dating and location are taken into account, these works can be seen as a reflection of a growing cultural interest in the crusade, particularly in north Wales; the participation of Gruffydd ap Rhydderch and Ednyfed Fychan in the 1230s certainly supports this idea. It may well be significant that Llywelyn's seneschal, Ednyfed Fychan, to whom Elidir Sais wrote an elegy, chose to go to the Holy Land in 1235.[127] Despite the limited nature of the traditional themes of the poetry of the princes, external events were altering the content of the poems themselves within their traditional framework; the decrees of Lateran IV concerning annual confession and sacramental theology were reflected in the 'explicit concern' shown for the sacraments in the works of the poets.[128] The only surprise is that there are not more references to crusading in the poetry of the *Gogynfeirdd*.[129]

Catherine McKenna, Morfydd E. Owen and Gruffydd Aled Williams (Cardiff, 1995), 38; Carr, 'Inside the tent looking out', 31–2.

[126] McKenna, *Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric*, p. 107.

[127] *Cal. Cl. R., 1234–47* (London, 1908), p. 101; *Cal. Pat. R., 1232–7* (London, 1906), p. 108.

[128] McKenna, *Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric*, p. 117.

[129] Hartwell-Jones believed that the description of Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor as 'hawk of the hill, king of the wilderness' by Einion Wan referred to Madog being a member of the Knights Templar. Hartwell-Jones suggested that the line was 'perhaps an allusion to the vigilance with which the valiant Order watched the mountain passes and swooped on those who lived on robbery and bloodshed'. Sixty years earlier Stephens had footnoted the same line with the comment, 'A knight Templar I should presume'. It seems unlikely, however, as there is no other evidence to suggest that Madog might have been a member of a military order, and other Welsh princes are described as 'hawks' in poetry. Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain*, p. 144; Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry*, p. 171, n.1; Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), p. 170.

In his *The Literature of the Kymry*, Thomas Stephens refers to a passage from 'The Oracle of Britain' which he believed referred to the crusades.

> Spears shall he [*sic*] launched forth
> And an armed band
> Around Cogawn Penarth,–
> An army collected from afar,
> Led by the Cross of Christ,
> And the flame from Bethlehem,
> And Jerusalem.[130]

He maintains that this extract referred 'to the persons collected together at the instigation of archbishop Baldwyn, (A.D.1188) who was eminently successful at Llandaff, in enlisting soldiers for the crusades', Cogan Penarth being only a few miles south of Llandaff.[131] While it is entirely possible that men from Cogan Penarth travelled to Llandaff to hear the preaching, it is unlikely that this poem was a prediction of Welsh involvement in crusading. The extract quoted by Stephens comes from the 'Armes Prydain', published in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* and attributed by its editors to Taliesin.[132] The original manuscript of The Book of Taliesin (NLW, Peniarth MS 2) contains the tenth-century 'Armes Prydain fawr', but it does not mention anything about Cogan Penarth.[133] The reason for the disparity between the two may be that one of the contributing editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, Edward Williams (or Iolo Morganwg, as he was known), was 'beyond any doubt, the most accomplished and successful forger in literary history'.[134] Jenkins describes Iolo as living in a laudanum-induced 'Orwellian world of fantasy,

[130] 'Am pheldyr yn rhydd / Agosgordd / Am cogawn pennard / A llu digyfor o bell / A chroes Crist yn Cymhell / A fflam o Feddlem. A chaersalem.' Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry*, p. 294.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Owen Jones, Edward Williams and William Owen Pughe (eds), *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales: Collected out of Ancient Manuscripts*, I (Denbigh, 1870), pp. 45–6.

[133] NLW, Peniarth MS 2, fos 6r–8v; *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain, from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. Ifor Williams and trans. Rachel Bromwich (Dublin, 1972). My thanks to David Ceri Jones for his comments on this poem.

[134] Ceri W. Lewis, 'The literary tradition of Morgannwg down to the middle of the sixteenth century', in T. B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History Volume III, The Middle Ages: The Marcher Lordships of Glamorgan and Morgannwg and Gower and Kilvey*

forgery and deception', where his grip on reality was so poor that 'he often wrote critiques of his own forgeries'.[135] During his lifetime (1747–1826) and until the end of the nineteenth century, Iolo was considered an authority on Welsh literature, and texts he had 'discovered' were generally taken at face value; this appears to have been the case with Stephens. In his desire to glorify his homeland of Morgannwg, Iolo 'felt constrained to rewrite completely the whole history of Wales, and to this end he was driven over and over again to distort what he actually knew about true historical and literary traditions of his native province'.[136] The copy of The Book of Taliesin that survives in the NLW was probably copied by a Glamorgan scribe, and as such would have been a focus of Iolo's manipulations. In an age when tales of crusading were being romanticised by Sir Walter Scott, it is not inconceivable that Iolo Morganwg extended an ancient prophecy in order to foster the impression that the men of Morgannwg had been destined to fight for glory in the Third Crusade.[137]

Graham Isaac has identified one last reference to the crusade in Welsh poetry. In 'The Dialogue of Taliesin and Ugnach', Isaac concludes that the following stanza related to the crusades:

> Ban deuaw o Caer Seon,
> O imlat ac Itewon:
> It aw Caer Leu a Gwidion.[138]

The identity of Caer Seon is uncertain, and although attempts have been made to place it on Conwy Mountain, or on Anglesey, Isaac maintains that it referred to Zion, and that confusion had arisen after the copyist of the Black Book

from the Norman Conquest to the Act of Union of England and Wales (Cardiff, 1971), p. 451.

[135] Geraint H. Jenkins, *Facts, Fantasy and Fiction: The Historical Vision of Iolo Morganwg* (Aberystwyth, 1997), p. 8.

[136] Lewis, 'Literary tradition', pp. 450–1.

[137] *Ivanhoe* (1820) and *Tales of the Crusaders*: *The Betrothed and The Talisman* (1825).

[138] Graham R. Isaac, '"Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach": propaganda Cymreig yn oes y Croesgadau', *Llên Cymru*, 25 (2002), 13. 'When I return from Caer Seon / From contending with Jews / I will come to the city of Lleu and Gwydion.' I am grateful to Spencer Smith for his assistance with the translation of this article. G. Hartwell-Jones also refers to this poem, but does not mention the alteration of the text. Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain*, p. 98.

of Carmarthen had made an error.[139] The Jews mentioned in the passages are not in fact Jews, but a generic enemy of the Christian faith, and can be identified as Muslims. He concludes that the Black Book copyist, writing at the time of the crusades, was using the work as a piece of crusade propaganda, and had chosen Taliesin as his crusading hero because the themes of the poetry and the importance of Taliesin (as the chief of bards) would have ensured that the 'Dialogue' a greater impact.[140]

IV The Charlemagne Cycle

The last genre of medieval literature to be considered is the Romance Tale, more specifically the tales forming the Charlemagne Cycle that were associated with crusading. Translations of the Charlemagne tales from French into Welsh began to appear in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Stephens, characteristically eschewing hard evidence when it interrupted the romantic flow of his narrative, claims that,

> in their journeys to the holy land [*sic*], the Cambrian knights mixed on terms of intimacy and equality with those of other countries, and effected a course of interchange of literatures, as plainly appears from the frequent mentions in Kymric literature of Orlando, Charlemagne, sir Fulke, and Guy of Warwick.[141]

Although the mode of transmission claimed by Stephens has no evidence to support it, it is true that stories relating to these figures began to appear in Welsh during the period of the crusades, the most notable being from the Charlemagne Cycle. The different tales of the Cycle were translated into Welsh at various times throughout the thirteenth century, and were brought together in two works, the Red Book of Hergest's *History of Charlemagne* and the *Gests of Charlemagne* in the Hengwrt Collection.[142] The most celebrated, the *Song of Roland*, dealt with the conflicts between the Saracens and

[139] Ibid., pp. 15–16.
[140] Ibid., p. 20.
[141] Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry*, p. 440.
[142] Robert Williams, 'Ystoria de Carolo Magno', *Y Cymmrodor*, 20 (1907); *Selections*

Christians in the Iberian peninsula, as did the *Chronicle of Turpin* or *Pseudo-Turpin*. The *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne* told of Charlemagne's visit to Jerusalem and Constantinople, and the final tale, the *Romance of Otuel*, related the arrival of a Saracen envoy at Charlemagne's court and his subsequent conversion to Christianity. Although the tales were set in the eighth and ninth centuries, they were laden with themes that were relevant to the years in which they were written, themes that were changed and emphasised when these works went through the process of transmission.

Debate over the function of the original tales focuses on whether the inspiration behind them was secular or religious. In 1960, Alain Renoir argued that the original *Song of Roland* was composed for religious reasons, and that Roland was 'a symbol of French Christianity triumphing over Islam'.[143] Two years later, D. D. R. Owen concluded that it was 'composed to the glory of the secular, feudal ideal'.[144] David Trotter (1988) concluded that the *chansons de geste*, while reflecting the nature of the pre-1095 holy wars, did address the ideology of crusade propaganda, but that this was secondary to the theme of feudal relationships.[145] Whatever the intentions of the original authors, translators took the themes that they found most important and emphasised them: thus, the religious and militaristic aspects of the Charlemagne Cycle that could be associated with crusading were seized upon by translators in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both as a way to entertain a society with a predilection for war and, it was hoped, as a way to inspire them to fight. In addition to Spanish and English translations, an Icelandic version was undertaken in the mid thirteenth century, and Foote believed it found 'a ready audience'.[146] These translations

from the Hengwrt MSS., ed. R. Williams and G. H. Jones, vol. II (London, 1892), pp. 1–118, 437–517.

[143] Alan Renoir, 'Roland's Lament: its meaning and function in the *Chanson de Roland*', *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 582.

[144] D. D. R. Owen, 'The secular inspiration of the *Chanson de Roland*', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 400.

[145] D. A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100–1300)* (Geneva, 1988), p. 104.

[146] Peter G. Foote, *The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle in Iceland: A Contribution to the Study of the Karlamagnús Saga* (London, 1959), pp. 47, 51.

were not always completed in order to provide a corpus of entertaining stories: Haakon IV of Norway, who ruled from 1217 to 1263, used translations of the *Karlamagnus Saga* to complement his eradication of paganism.[147] Goethe believed that the *Song of Roland*, for example, was translated into German in 1132 in order to drum up support for crusading.[148] Morgan Watkin and Ronald Walpole argue that it was for this reason that the Romance Cycle of Charlemagne was translated by the Cistercians into Welsh.[149]

One of the easiest ways to determine the concerns of the translator, his patron and their audience, is to compare the Welsh translations with the French Charlemagne Cycle, and consider where they differ. Perhaps one of the best examples is the episode of Roland's death, which shows several significant alterations. Laisse CLXXVI of the French version describes Roland's death:

> Count Roland lay down beneath a pine tree;
> He has turned his face towards Spain.
> Many things began to pass through his mind:
> All the lands which he conquered as a warrior,
> The fair land of France, the men of his lineage,
> Charlemagne, his lord, who raised him.
> He cannot help weeping and heaving great sighs;
> But he does not wish to be unmindful of himself.
> He confesses his sins and prays for the grace of God:
> 'True father, who has never lied,

[147] Williams, 'Ystoria de Carolo Magno', 62. The Norwegian translation of the *Chanson de Roland* was part of what Helle called 'the conscious and strong ambition' of the king and clergy to bring the Norwegians into line with European cultural and Christian values. Suitable works of romance and pseudo-history were translated, in the hope that they would affect this change. See Knut Helle, 'Anglo-Norwegian relations in the reign of Håkon Håkonsson (1217–63)', *Medieval Scandinavia*, 1 (1968), 107–8.

[148] W. Goethe, *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad* (1887), in Morgan Watkin, 'The French literary influence in medieval Wales', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1919), 56. The earliest German translation of the *Song of Roland* did not appear, however, until *c.*1170. Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Woodstock, New York, 2000), p. 92.

[149] Ibid., p. 56; Ronald N. Walpole, 'The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle and the legend of the Journey to the East in the Charlemagne Cycles of Wales and England'. I am grateful to Annalee C. Rejhon for providing me with a copy of this unpublished article.

> You who brought back Lazarus from the dead
> And rescued Daniel from the lions,
> Protect my soul from every peril
> And from the sins which I have committed in my life.'
> He proffered his right glove to God;
> Saint Gabriel took it from his arm;
> With his hands joined he went to his end.
> God sent down his angel Cherubin
> And with him Saint Michael of the Peril.
> With them both came Saint Gabriel.
> They bear the count's soul to paradise.[150]

The Peniarth MS 10 version that Morgan Watkin used for comparison, which included the death of Roland from the *Pseudo-Turpin*, is quite different in tone:

> Rolant was writhing upon the meadow . . . it happened that Rolant had that very day received the Body of the Lord and had made full confession to priests before he went to battle . . . thereupon Rolant, Christ's martyr, lifted up his face towards heaven and spoke thus: Lord Jesus Christ, it was to magnify Thy Law and Thy Christianity that I quitted my native land and came to this alien country; and by thy might have I been victorious in many battles with the Saracens . . . I readily confess that I am an unspeakably culpable sinner O lord, let thy mercy be moved towards those who to-day fell in this battle, and who came from afar into this alien region to resist Saracens, and to magnify Thy holy name . . . And then . . . the blessed soul of Roland the martyr departed from his body into everlasting rest.[151]

The Red Book of Hergest version used the same terminology: Roland, on his ascension to heaven, 'reigns with the martyrs as he deserved'.[152] The first and most obvious difference is that in the Welsh version of the death-scene, Roland explains that he has been fighting against the Saracens in the name of God, and that for this reason God should be merciful towards him and those who have fought with him. There is nothing of this in the French *chanson*. Although crusading indulgence did not require death in battle against enemies of the church, the fact that defeating the Saracens is emphasised shows that, at the time that this translation was undertaken,

[150] *The Song of Roland*, trans. Glyn Burgess (London, 1990), pp. 104–5.
[151] Watkin, 'French literary influence' (1919), 21–2.
[152] Williams, 'Ystoria de Carolo Magno', 203.

interest in the benefits of fighting for the church against its Muslim enemies was strong. The second notable alteration is to the language of the passage. Rather than concentrating on his lineage and loyalty to Charlemagne, factors that led D. D. R. Owen to argue for the 'feudal ideal' of the French original, Roland is now a 'martyr' for fighting against the Saracens, and both he and the others who died that day were fighting for God's glory. Watkin believed that the Welsh translation of the passage on Roland's death was 'replete with Christian theology and Christian fervour . . . the glorification of the crusading spirit'.[153] It is obvious that the Welsh version highlights the concept of Roland's martyrdom, and that the ideas of crusading are more prominent. Cistercian 'propaganda' was not, however, the only source of such ideas. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had opened with a sermon stressing the importance of both the crusade and the idea of the reform of the church. Canon 21 of the decrees of the Council emphasised the onus placed on the individual for attaining salvation, a theme then addressed by the secular poetry of the princes, in which 'explicit concern' over annual confession and sacramental theology began to be emphasised in the years after 1215, especially in death-bed poetry.[154] The ideas of individual salvation and gaining spiritual benefits through combating the enemies of the church were also prominent in the Welsh translation of the *Song of Roland*, especially in the section where Roland dies; the emphasis on these themes after 1215 certainly suggests that the decrees of the Lateran Council were making themselves felt in Wales, and that they included ideas which would encourage crusade participation.

The earliest Welsh translations are of *The Song of Roland*, up to verse 107, and the *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, commissioned by Reginald, king of Man and the Western Isles from 1187 to 1226. At the end of the *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, in all but one surviving manuscript of the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, is found the following colophon:

[153] Watkin, 'French literary influence' (1919), 19.

[154] McKenna, *Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric*, p. 117; for influences, see N. G. Costigan, *Defining the Divinity: Medieval Perceptions in Welsh Court Poetry* (Aberystwyth, 2002), p. 13.

> Thus far is related the History of Charlemagne's deeds which Reinallt King of the Isles had his clerk translate and turn from Romance into Latin, namely his quarrel with the Queen and his journey to Jerusalem and his conversation with Hugh the Mighty, which Turpin did not bother to relate.[155]

Annalee Rejhon believes that Reginald initially intended that the work be translated into Latin, as this colophon indicates, probably at Rushen on the Isle of Man, but the location of its translation was instead moved to Llanbadarn Fawr, once the heart of native scholarship in Wales, and completed in Welsh. Rejhon found no evidence that a Latin translation had acted as an intermediary between the Old French *Roland* and the Welsh translation.[156] This was either because of Reginald's links with the families of both north Wales and Deheubarth, or a result of the commission effectively being passed through the network of Cistercian houses from Rushen onwards until it reached Llanbadarn.

If Reginald commissioned a translation after 1219, it may not have been completed before he was deposed and forced to flee to the protection of the lord of Galloway in 1226. The unfinished work could then have been moved from Rushen, which now lay in lands that Reginald could hardly visit, to a location organised by his Welsh relatives. The Charlemagne Cycle was already known in north Wales: Llywarch ap Llywelyn (also known as Prydydd y Moch, *fl.*1173–1220), employed a motif from the romance tales of Charlemagne, likening himself to Roland's horn, the Olifant, in praising Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. The popularity of such comparisons continued, with Einion Wan investing Llywelyn's eldest son, Gruffydd, with the qualities of Charlemagne. Carr questions how the poets acquired this knowledge in the period before the whole Cycle was translated, but offers no explanation. Rather than assuming the poetic references must have come from knowledge of the Welsh translations, it seems that the knowledge of the Charlemagne Cycle that existed in Wales,

[155] *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, p. 449.

[156] *Cân Rolant: The Medieval Welsh Version of the Song of Roland*, ed. and trans. Annalee C. Rejhon (Berkeley, 1984), p. 74, n.45. Conversely, the translator of the German *Song of Roland*, the *Rolandslied*, translated it from French into Latin, and then into German. Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, p. 85.

perhaps transmitted orally to the Welsh courts, provided a cultural atmosphere in which the translation of the tales could take place, and not the other way round.

The interest shown in the Charlemagne Cycle in the Welsh courts in the years when the tales were being translated also argues against a hypothesis advocated by both Watkin and Walpole. Watkin believed that the Cycle was translated into Welsh by the Cistercians as part of their attempts at recruitment, and Walpole agreed, saying that Reginald 'cannot have had the slightest spontaneous enthusiasm' for the composition of a Welsh version, and that the 'inspiration' for his translations came from the monks of Rushen or Furness.[157] Watkin's inspiration for this line of reasoning appears to have come from his understanding of Goethe's work on the translation of the German *Song of Roland*, but as the German version does not seem to be particularly resonant with crusading themes, it seems unlikely that this was what lay behind the German translations. Bumke, in fact, argued that 'the material culture, the ceremonial forms of courtly behaviour, and the new ideals and values of French aristocratic society . . . is what especially interested courtly society in Germany'.[158] Both men also argued their case without acknowledging the interest in the Cycle in Wales, which, in the case of Llywarch ap Llywelyn, may have pre-dated the *Roland* and *Pilgrimage*, believing that this would be the only way to account for the appearance of Welsh translations.

Inspiration for translation may not, however, have come from the Cistercians, and it is worth considering another motivation. This perhaps lay in the political situation in Man, and its relations with Rome. When Reginald's father, Godfrey, died in 1187, he had named Olaf, his legitimate son, as his heir, but since Olaf was only a child of ten at the time, the Manxmen supported his older, illegitimate brother, Reginald, instead. The king of Scots imprisoned Olaf until 1214, but once he was released, a dispute over the right to the kingship of Man erupted. Over the following five years, Olaf worked towards gaining support from the Papacy, first by

[157] Walpole, 'The Pseudo-Turpin chronicle', 27.
[158] Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, p. 100.

going on pilgrimage to Compostela, and then by annulling his marriage to Reginald's sister-in-law. Reginald countered this by ceding the Isle of Man to the Pope in 1219, after which he held it as a fief. Rejhon believes that he then commissioned a translation of the *Song of Roland*, and possibly of the *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, in order to 'improve his relations with the Church'.[159]

It is likely that Reginald of Man conceived the idea of translating the *Roland* and *Pilgrimage* after visiting Henry III in 1219 in order to do homage.[160] At this time the Pseudo-Turpin commissioned by Warin fitzGerold was probably known in England; tales involving Charlemagne were certainly popular enough in the English court for Walter Map to complain, 'For us the troop of buffoons keeps alive the divine fame of the Charlemagnes and Pepins in popular ballads'.[161] Reginald of Man certainly had close links with Warin; the latter had married Alice de Courcy, a relative of John de Courcy, Reginald's own brother-in-law.[162] If Reginald wanted to curry favour with the papacy in the years after Lateran IV, when the Fifth Crusaders were busy in Egypt, he could have done no better than to commission the translation of a work in which the 'implicit propaganda' of crusading was, according to Trotter, 'fairly obvious'.[163] The militaristic overtones of the *Song of Roland* would have appealed to the nobility, first of Man and then of Wales, while in the *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne* the emperor discussed the idea of war in order to spread Christianity with the patriarch of Jerusalem. In the French *Pilgrimage*, Charlemagne is simply going to Constantinople to conquer another king, but in the Welsh translation it says that he intends to go to see the Emperor

[159] Rejhon, *Cân Rolant*, p. 73. Reginald held the Isle of Man as a papal fief in preference of his legitimate brother.

[160] Ibid., p. 73.

[161] *The Anglo-Norman* Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle *of William de Briane*, ed. Ian Short (Oxford, 1973); Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 404–5.

[162] John de Courcy married Reginald's sister Affreca *c.*1180. The resulting alliance between Reginald and John involved the Manx king in Anglo–Irish affairs. Initial good relations had deteriorated by 1218, when Reginald was summoned to do homage to Henry III. R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard, c.1100–c.1336* (East Linton, 1997), pp. 86–7; Short, *The Anglo-Norman* Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle, p. 4 and n.4.

[163] Trotter, *Medieval French Literature*, p. 85.

'whom, if not a good Christian, I will subdue to the Christian faith, just as I have already blinded and subdued twelve infidel kings'.[164] The fact that Charlemagne is willing to fight against a fellow Christian, and likens him to 'infidel kings', suggests the influence of the growth in the thirteenth century of crusading against enemies of the church from within Christendom, which led to fighting between Christians. Both the *Roland* and the *Pilgrimage* reflect the ideals of the church in the early thirteenth century, and as such were powerful pieces of theological and crusading propaganda. McDonald certainly believes that the idea of crusading would have been popular on the Isle of Man, and even suggests that Reginald himself, whom the seventeenth-century *Book of Clanranald* says 'received a cross from Jerusalem', may have taken part in the Fourth Crusade.[165] Even if this had been the case, at the time of these translations, politically Reginald was in no position to leave Man. He may have commissioned the translation to show his concern at the continuing struggle with the Muslims, although it is also possible that he wished to contract a work that would theoretically stir others to go, and to support the ideals of the church, as an alternative to winning favour with Rome.

The third part of the Romance Cycle of Charlemagne to be translated into Welsh was the *Pseudo-Turpin*, which contained the death of Roland. This was undertaken by Madoc ap Selyf sometime between 1265 and 1283.[166] Madoc, who was probably a monk of Strata Florida or, as Chadwick believed, of Llanbadarn Fawr, was commissioned to translate the *Pseudo-Turpin* by Gruffydd ap Maredudd, prince of Deheubarth, who had close links with Llanbadarn: his father and grandmother had both owned land in the area. Gruffydd's father, Maredudd ab Owain, described in the *Brut* as 'defender of all Deheubarth and counsellor of all Wales', was Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's 'most faithful ally', and therefore it is possible

[164] Watkin, p. 40.

[165] McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles*, pp. 77–8.

[166] It is unlikely that the work was commissioned after this date, as Gruffydd had been fighting against Edward I in the late 1270s, and was imprisoned at Bridgnorth in 1283. *AWR*, p. 13; *Cân Rolant*, p. 27; Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1997), p. 190. In the late 1290s he fought for Edward I in Flanders. J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 279–80.

that he would have been present at Llywelyn's court when the poetry of Einion Wan and Llywarch ap Llywelyn was performed.[167] Gruffydd commissioned a translation of the *Transitus Beatae Mariae*, a body of literature on the assumption of Mary, and other members of his family were patrons of notable works: his sister Efa had the Athanasian Creed translated into Welsh by Brother Gruffydd Bola, and Efa's and Gruffydd's great-nephew-in-law commissioned the Book of the Anchorite in 1346.[168] It is plausible that ten years before this he had asked John the Scholar to produce a composite work of the Charlemagne tales that would have included Madoc's *Pseudo-Turpin*. The proliferation of religious works commissioned by this family suggests a strong interest in mid Wales in the ideas central to these texts in the period 1250–1350, that appears to have begun with Madoc ap Selyf's crusade-themed *Pseudo-Turpin*.

In the same period the last of the quartet of the Romance Cycle of Charlemagne, *The Romance of Otuel*, was also rendered into Welsh, probably from the Middlehill manuscript.[169] Unfortunately, Otuel does not have a colophon that might help identify either the translator or his patron: all that can be established with certainty is that the translation was completed before 1336, when John the Scholar added it to the *Turpin*, *Roland* and *Pilgrimage*. Martha Weingarter hesitantly suggests that the translation appeared around 1282, perhaps commissioned by Gruffydd ap Maredudd or one of his circle.[170] The Otuel certainly contained allusions to crusading, just like the other texts in the Cycle: Otuel, when leaving to fight Clarel, tells his wife he is going 'to avenge the blood of our Lord, and to uphold His faith, and to cover with shame and confusion the faithless paynims'.[171]

[167] *BT. RBH.*, p. 114.

[168] Morfydd E. Owen, 'Functional prose: religion, science, grammar, law', in A. O. H. Jarman and Gwilym Rees Hughes (eds), *A Guide to Welsh Literature, Volume 1* (Swansea, 1976), pp. 249–50.

[169] Williams, 'Ystoria de Carolo Magno', 56–7.

[170] Martha H. Weingartner, 'Reading *Otuel*: a medieval Welsh appropriation of an Old French chanson de geste', unpublished MA thesis (Aberystwyth, 1993), p. 70.

[171] Williams, 'Ystoria de Carolo Magno', 155.

Two other works were translated in the late thirteenth century: the Boeve de Haumtone and Amis et Amilles.[172] In his argument for the twelfth-century rendition of these tales as part of early crusading enthusiasm, Morgan Watkin concluded that Boeve de Haumtone was translated in 'the neighbourhood of the Second Crusade', although as his dating of the other works in the Charlemagne Cycle, based on the same criteria, is clearly erroneous, these dates should not be accepted.[173] It was probably translated at around the same period as Madoc ap Selyf's *Pseudo-Turpin*, that is between *c.*1250 and 1275.[174] The Boeve de Haumtone is concerned with the adoption of a young Christian boy by the king of Egypt and his subsequent refusal to convert to the Muslim religion, and contains the same themes as the more 'crusade'-based works: pious devotion, willingness to fight against pagans, and attempts to convert the infidel. The final section of Amis et Amiloun, a story of two friends who die as martyrs fighting for Charlemagne, like the *Song of Roland* has clearly been expanded in translation in order to promote crusading. In fighting the king in Lombardy, Pope Adrian I 'was giving absolution to whomsoever voluntarily went on campaign'.[175] It seems as if the passage is promoting the idea of indulgences in return for undertaking Holy War. It is unlikely, however, that these texts had the same impact as the better-known Charlemagne tales; Boeve de Haumtone, for example, does not appear in Welsh poetry until the fifteenth century.[176]

It appears most likely that the translation of the Charlemagne Cycle was a response both to the ideals of the crusade and to social and religious changes in the thirteenth century. Even if Cistercians had suggested the translation of the *Song of Roland* to Reginald of Man, or of the other tales

[172] Brynley Roberts dates the translation of *Amis et Amilles* into Welsh to the beginning of the fourteenth century. Brynley F. Roberts, 'Tales and romances', in *Guide to Welsh Literature*, Vol. 1, p. 238.

[173] Watkin, 'The French literary influence in medieval Wales', *Trans. Soc. Cymm.* (1919), 49.

[174] D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 2003), p. xxxi.

[175] Watkin, 'French literary influence', 45.

[176] Erich Poppe, 'Beues of Hamtoun in Welsh Bardic Poetry', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 43 (2002), 49–57, 50.

to Gruffydd ap Maredudd and his circle, these secular men would have had a considerable degree of interest in the tales themselves to fund and organise translation. That the tales were popular is proved by the references in early thirteenth-century poetry, so translation was something of a natural progression. Roberts noted that at the time of these translations, 'the concept of the war-band and communal war waned, [and] interest in the individual increased'.[177] If this was indeed the case, it is hardly surprising that these tales gained popularity in the years when Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd dominated Wales.

Whatever the reasons for the initial composition of the Charlemagne Cycle, it was adopted and altered during the period of the crusades to reflect the growing interest in seeking salvation through death in the struggle against the Muslim enemy. Although the king of Man commissioned the first translation into Welsh, he had strong links with Gwynedd, suggesting that the appearance of images from the Charlemagne Cycle in Welsh poetry had links to the Isle of Man's support of crusading. The link between the poetry and *chansons de geste* in Gwynedd will be addressed further when the rise of crusade participation in early thirteenth-century Gwynedd is considered, but for now it is sufficient to observe that the increased interest in tales where combating Muslims was celebrated first appeared in north Wales, and that the language was altered to appeal to a Welsh audience, suggesting that the Welsh tales would have acted as pieces of propaganda, even if this had not necessarily been the aim of Reginald of Man or his translators.

The increase in the detail and number of references to crusading and crusade-linked activity in the period after 1200 was also a reflection of the level of Anglo-Norman penetration in Wales by that time. The Welsh may have regained many of the lands that had been taken during the initial assault on Wales in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, but the connections between England and Wales had been increasing throughout this period in such a way that influences from England were felt, even in those areas

[177] Roberts, 'Tales and romances', p. 22.

where the Welsh held power. Intermarriages, such as that between Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and King John's daughter Joan, fostered the spread of ideas between the lands of Wales and England, and the Welsh mercenaries used in the king's armies no doubt transmitted information about conflict in the Holy Land.

A survey of crusading in Welsh literature raises an interesting point: the historical annals which refer to crusading – the *Brutiau*, *Brenhinedd* and *Annales de Margam* – originated in south Wales, whereas the translations of the Charlemagne Cycle and poetry that referred to crusading arose from the courts of north Wales, which were still under native rule. The composition of the chronicles and the source material they used in the southern half of Wales is not, however, an indication of a lack of interest north of the Dyfi estuary, because the main Cistercian houses where the scribes worked, such as Margam, Whitland and Strata Florida, were situated in the south. The Margam annals suggest that information on crusading in Iberia was more widespread in the south, although this was no doubt a result of the abbey's location in lands controlled by the Anglo-Normans. If the chronicles say little of events such as Archbishop Baldwin's tour, it is perhaps because he spent so little time in the lands ruled by the Welsh princes, and was predominantly accommodated at Anglo-Norman settlements. Perhaps more telling is that fact that the works composed for entertainment and public performance, like those of the court poets, referred to current events in the Holy Land and to the *chansons de geste* composed in the wake of the First Crusade. These were works predominantly written and translated by the Welsh for the Welsh, and as such cannot be seen simply as a reflection of Anglo-Norman tastes; even Elidir Sais, who lived for a time in exile in England, wrote his lines about Saladin before he was banished. Even the *Cân Rolant*, translated at the behest of Reginald of Man, had links to north Wales, first through the marriage of his daughter to Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd, and then through marriage negotiations with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth himself. The Welsh literature (as opposed to the Cambro-Latin of the Margam annals) demonstrates that the Welsh were as well informed of events in the crusade movement as were their

contemporaries elsewhere in Europe and that, especially in the lands of north Wales, crusading pervaded court culture to such an extent that the might of Charlemagne and the cruelty of Saladin would have been readily appreciated by an audience in the mountains of Gwynedd.

II

RECRUITMENT: ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN'S PREACHING TOUR OF 1188

The Third Crusade was the first major crusading enterprise that gripped the imagination of potential crusaders in England and Wales. The First and Second Crusades had involved participants from the Anglo-Norman realm, but most of these were based south of the Channel in the towns that had large mercantile communities. By contrast, a great deal of effort was poured into recruiting men for the Third Crusade in 1188. One of the ways in which this effort manifested itself was in the tour of Archbishop Baldwin in Wales in the spring of 1188, when he sought to recruit native Welshmen and the Anglo-Normans who had settled in the march. Gerald of Wales, who wrote an account of the tour three years later, accompanied him. Gerald boasted:

> We worked very hard to make a success of our mission. About three thousand men were signed with the Cross, all of them highly skilled in the use of the spear and the arrow, most experienced in military affairs and only too keen to attack the enemies of our faith at the first opportunity. They were all sincerely and warmly committed to Christ's service.[1]

Gerald had spent nearly eight weeks in the company of Archbishop Baldwin, helping him to recruit men for Henry's proposed crusade to the Holy Land. Whether or not they succeeded in recruiting as many as 3,000 men cannot, unfortunately, be established, but even allowing for a degree of hyperbole, Gerald gives the distinct impression that the archbishop's party received a favourable response. In order to understand how and why the journey to Wales was undertaken, and to assess its success, it is necessary to consider the planning and execution of the tour, together

[1] *Itin. Kam.* , p. 147; trans. Thorpe, p. 204.

with the language and methods used by the preachers, and to consider the evidence for crusade participation as a result of the tour.

There have been numerous studies of Baldwin's preaching journey since Sir Richard Colt Hoare published his first translation of the *Itinerarium Kambriae* in 1806, the most recent and comprehensive being Huw Pryce's 'Gerald's Journey through Wales', and Peter Edbury's 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales'.[2] Pryce's article sought to address three main questions: why the tour was undertaken, what Baldwin's companions contributed, and what the effects of the tour were. Edbury's article provided a thorough examination of the process of crusade recruitment in Wales, and goes some way towards placing it in context of developments of crusade recruitment. This chapter concentrates on developments in the study of preaching and crusade recruitment since the late 1980s. It addresses the question of how and why the preaching locations were chosen, and how the approaches differed in various areas. Comparisons with other recruitment tours and crusade preaching in Europe are made. In addition, the impact of the tour is analysed to assess who participated from Wales and from among the Anglo-Norman settlers of the Welsh March.

The main source for the preaching campaign of 1188 is Gerald of Wales's *Itinerarium Kambriae*.[3] He also included information on the preaching tour, some of which did not

[2] Richard Colt Hoare, *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales A.D. 1188, translated into English, and illustrated with views, annotations and a life of Giraldus by Sir R Colt Hoare, Bart. Description of Wales, by Gerald de Barri, with annotations by Sir R.C. Hoare*, 2 vols (London, 1806); Huw Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey through Wales', *JWEH*, 6 (1989), 17–34; Peter W. Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade in Wales', in Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (eds), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 221–34. Other articles referred to elsewhere in the footnotes are not devoted solely to the preaching tour.

[3] Apart from the works of Gerald of Wales, sources on the preaching tour of 1188 are few, even from Wales where, if Gerald is to be believed, the tour appears to have stirred considerable interest. The *Annales Cambriae* refers to Baldwin touring Wales under the entry for 1187, but the Welsh-language chronicles, the *Brut y Tywysogyon* and *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, do not refer to the tour, even though they state that Baldwin took the Cross and went to Jerusalem. *BT. RBH.*, pp. 171–3; *BT. Pen.*, pp. 73–4; *B. Saes.*, pp. 187–9; *AC*, pp. 57–8. The only work to mention the tour is *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London, 1879–80), I, p. 421.

appear in the *Itinerarium*, in his other works, such as *De Rebus a se Gestis*, and the *Expugnatio Hibernica* and *De Principis Instructione* discussed the Third Crusade and the way in which the leaders of Europe responded to the needs of the Holy Land.[4] Gerald probably composed his first draft of the *Itinerarium* in the spring or summer of 1191 before the demise of William de Longchamp, to whom it was dedicated, in October of that year.[5] He revised the text around 1197, this time dedicating it to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, and again in 1214, altering the dedication to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury.[6] Despite these later revisions, the composition of the original text so soon after the completion of the preaching tour meant that Gerald would have been able to recall the response to the preaching with some accuracy; he may have been helped by the keeping of a diary.[7]

Although Baldwin's tour of Wales in order to preach the Cross provided the basic framework for the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, Gerald's main preoccupation was not with the preaching itself. The bulk of the text is devoted to anecdotes about Welsh history and landscape and people who have little or nothing to do with the recruitment process itself. Gerald's intention was to write a work like those he had recently completed on Ireland, and which would demonstrate the 'Marvels of the West' to his readers.[8] It is telling that when Gerald added to the second edition of his work, all but one entry were unrelated to the purpose of the journey, and related instead to descriptions of Welsh history, people and places.[9] Yoko Wado observed that, as with all Gerald's works, one of his primary motives in the *Itinerarium* was to tell his audience about himself. 'The Journey through Wales',

[4] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), pp. 61, 73–9; V (*Expugnatio Hibernica*), pp. 307–8; VIII (*De Principis Instructione*), pp. 200–12, 234–81; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 68–73.

[5] *Itin. Kam.*, p. xi. William de Longchamp was forced to flee England shortly afterwards.

[6] At the time of composing the second edition, Gerald resided at Lincoln, *Itin. Kam.*, p. xxxvii; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 38–9.

[7] Trans. Thorpe, p. 36.

[8] Yoko Wado, 'Gerald on Gerald: self-presentation by Gerald Cambrensis', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), 231. See also Asa Simon Mittman, 'The Other close at hand: Gerald of Wales and the 'Marvels of the West', in Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (eds), *The Monstrous Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 97–112.

[9] For a list of the additions to the second and third manuscripts, see Appendix I in Trans. Thorpe, pp. 275–7.

Wado continues, 'was designed to show how important Gerald himself was in preaching the Crusade.'[10] When trying to reconstruct the contents of the sermons used to recruit potential crusaders, this proves particularly frustrating, since Gerald is more concerned with boasting of his own success than with explaining how it was achieved. It is not, however, impossible to reconstruct what may have occurred when preaching took place, and other indicators – such as the dating of the tour, the places where preaching occurred and the responses to both the archbishop and archdeacon – do give an indication of how the tour stirred men to participate.

I The Motivations of the Tour

The central purpose of the journey, Pryce noted, was to recruit men for Henry II's crusade army from native-held Wales and the settled lands of the March.[11] Gerald himself tells us in *De Rebus* that the aim of the tour was to enlist the aid of the Welsh as well as the English.[12] Both Pryce and Edbury argued that recruiting from these areas appears to have served as an alternative to the collection of the Saladin Tithe, as it sought to collect the promises of men rather than their money.[13] Henry II had employed native Welsh mercenaries in previous campaigns and, at the time of the initiation of the recruitment tour, maintained good relations with the Lord Rhys, which suggests the possibility of a productive and cooperative response.[14] Welsh military prowess was a quality that Gerald also noted, especially among the men of south Wales:

> It is worth mentioning, or so I think, that the men of Gwent . . . have much more experience of warfare, are more famous for their martial exploits and, in particular, are more skilled with the bow and arrow than those who come from other parts of Wales.[15]

[10] Wado, 'Gerald on Gerald', 234.

[11] Pryce, 'Gerald of Wales', 22.

[12] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus a Se Gestis*), p. 73.

[13] Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade in Wales', p. 231; Pryce, 'Gerald of Wales', 23, 28.

[14] Michael Prestwich, 'Money and mercenaries in English medieval armies', in Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (eds), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996), p. 138.

[15] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 54; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 112–13.

There was the added benefit that the Spanish horses from the stud farms of Powys, originally imported by Robert Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury (*fl.*1098–1102) would be contributed to the crusade cause, because they were 'greatly prized'.[16]

Henry II had demonstrated a commitment to the crusading cause in previous years, and so the recruitment of men to fight in the Holy Land could also be seen as a logical extension of his willingness to contribute to it.[17] Recruiting Welsh nobles would also have the additional benefit of removing those who were causing problems for the crown, so that Henry would be free to go on crusade without fear of attack at home. In 1187, Maelgwn ap Rhys, son of the Lord Rhys, sacked Tenby; it was no doubt these rebellious Welsh princes whom Baldwin was supposed to recruit. Baldwin's tour may also have been an attempt to counteract Welsh opposition to Anglo-Norman advances; the presence of Ranulf de Glanville at the opening stages of the tour highlights the political dimensions of the archbishop's visit to Wales and the March.[18] Recruiting from among the native Welsh was not as unconventional an idea as it first appeared. Aside from fulfilling the need to recruit men rather than collect funding for the crusade, and removing potential troublemakers, the English crown was, on a more basic level, building on a tradition of Welsh involvement. Pryce's assertion that it 'is quite likely that Welshmen had participated in the first two

[16] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 143; Trans. Thorpe, p. 201.

[17] In 1172 Henry took the Cross as penance for the murder of Thomas Becket, and began to send large amounts of money to the Holy Land on an annual basis. Events, it seems, always prevented Henry from leaving on crusade (or provided him with an excuse), and he did not allow any of the money he sent to the East to be used. Many of his contemporaries, such as Louis VII and Gerald of Wales, were critical of his dealings regarding the crusades, and doubted his commitment. Recruiting men for the crusade might have also lessened the criticism against him if he once again failed to fulfil his vow, but his death in 1189 means that this must remain pure conjecture, as it seems that Henry was indeed preparing to leave on crusade. For Henry II's relationship with the Holy Land, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land', *EHR*, 97 (1982), 721–39.

[18] Securing peace was paramount if Richard were to go on crusade. Richard of Devizes wrote that before he left, 'The king accepted a pledge from the petty kings of the Welsh and the Scots that whilst he was on pilgrimage they would not cross their borders to do harm to the English.' *Chronicon Richardi Divisensis de Tempore Regis Richardi Primi*, ed. John T. Appleby (London, 1963), p. 7. The political dimension of the tour is discussed in greater depth in chapter 4.

crusades' is correct, for in fact Welshmen served under the lord of Thouars in 1096, and Morgan ap Cadwgan had gone on crusade in 1128.[19]

Henry II's decision to instruct Baldwin to lead a preaching campaign was relatively straightforward. Not only was Baldwin the leading churchman in England, but his crusade preaching had already impressed Henry at Geddington in February, when he seems to have amazed the king with his eloquence.[20] Henry of Albano, who preached the Third Crusade in France and Germany, was instructed to do so by Pope Gregory VIII partly because he had already 'vigorously executed' a tour of preaching against the Cathar heresy.[21] The two men were also Cistercians, and the Cistercian order had been closely connected with crusade recruitment since Bernard of Clairvaux embarked on his preaching tour to promote the Second Crusade. The Cistercians were also the most well established order in Wales, and were popular in native Welsh and Anglo-Norman areas. The support that Baldwin received from the Cistercians in Wales on his tour added another facet to the wisdom of enlisting the former abbot of Forde to visit Wales.[22]

Baldwin used the tour as an opportunity to exert his authority over the church in Wales, which he did by celebrating Mass at each of the Welsh cathedrals.[23] Gervase of Canterbury maintained that Baldwin's motives were more selfish, and that he went to Wales only on the pretext of

[19] Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey', 23; *The Canso d'Antioca: An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade,* ed. Carol Sweetenham and Linda M. Paterson (Ashgate, 2003), p. 227; *BT. RBH.*, p. 111.

[20] Baldwin had experience of crusade preaching, having done so before at Clerkenwell in 1185. Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade in Wales', p. 229; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (London, 1867–71), II, p. 338; *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I, A.D. 1169–1192; Known Commonly under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London, 1867), II, p. 33.

[21] Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), p. 65. Edbury noted the tradition established by Bernard, but did not acknowledge that Gregory VIII had already employed Cistercian preachers in 1188 in mainland Europe. Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade', p. 224.

[22] R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 196–201.

[23] For the uses of the preaching tour in extending Canterbury's power, see Kathryn Hurlock, 'Power, preaching and the crusades in Pura Wallia, *c.*1180–*c.*1280', in *Thirteenth Century England, 11* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 94–108.

preaching the crusade, using the tour as a way of escaping the situation in Canterbury, where he was engaged in dispute with the monks.[24] Gervase's comments should be treated with caution, however. He was, after all, one of the monks of Canterbury, and began his *Chronica* in 1188, when the dispute was still raging.

Escaping from domestic problems was undoubtedly an added motive for Baldwin, but the commitment he demonstrated to crusading shows that piety and crusade devotion should not be discounted. He had first taken the Cross in March 1185 and was, after all, one of the few men involved with the preaching tour who is known to have gone on crusade; Gerald highlighted his pious motives by saying that Baldwin 'obeyed Christ's call by accepting the task of preaching the Crusade with great vehemence both near and far'.[25] His visit to Wales allowed him to promulgate the crusade message in Gregory's crusade bull, the *Audita Tremendi*, and recruit men to take the Cross with their king. On 10 February 1188, Pope Clement III had written to the archbishop and brethren at Canterbury asking them to 'send men and money for the succour of this province, that others, when they see you doing this, may the more readily be excited to imitate your example'.[26] He also expressed a desire to promote peace in Europe at the time of the crusade, telling Baldwin, 'whomsoever you shall discover to be at enmity between themselves, you shall earnestly strive to recall to peace and good-will, by exhortation, or even by the censures of the Church'.[27] This would have suited Henry II, because the pope was effectively giving Baldwin free rein to excommunicate any who sought to make trouble for the crusader king. Using the crusade as a way of establishing peace was not unusual during the recruitment period: Frederick Barbarossa offered Henry the Lion the option of either joining the Third Crusade or going into

[24] Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historia*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London, 1879–80), I, p. 421.

[25] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 151; Trans. Thorpe, p. 208.

[26] Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera*, VIII (*De principis Instructione*), p. 237; translation from Gerald of Wales, *Concerning the Instruction of Princes*, trans. Joseph Stevenson (London, 1858; repr. Felinfach, 1991), p. 61.

[27] Ibid., pp. 61–2.

exile, as he was too much of a threat to leave unchallenged in Germany.[28]

The dating of Clement's letter, however, suggests that the decision to extend the promotion of the crusade to Wales may have come from another source altogether. In January 1188, Peter of Blois wrote to Baldwin from the papal court in Ferrara, where he had received news of the disastrous defeat of the Christian forces at the Battle of Hattin in July 1187. In his letter, Peter wrote urging the archbishop to 'preach the crusade beyond the border of his diocese'.[29] A tour could thus already have been in the archbishop's mind before Henry II or the pope suggested it, but he was being urged by Peter to extend it further afield. The idea of a preaching tour in 1188 was not, in any case, novel; Baldwin's fellow-Cistercian, Henry of Clairvaux, was already preaching the Cross in 1187–8.[30]

Southern suggested that Peter recommended Baldwin extend his promotional efforts, but Peter's advice was 'written in vain'; having decided to deliver the letter in person, by the time he arrived Baldwin had already taken the initiative.[31] Whether Baldwin made his decision to tour Wales independently, or was influenced by Henry II or Peter, what is clear is that the idea of extending recruitment efforts to areas normally overlooked by crusade promotion was widespread at this time.

Gerald's involvement in the preaching tour has been the focus of numerous studies, most notably by Huw Pryce, who examined Gerald's contribution to liaising with the native Welsh princes and major landholders of the March, and his

[28] Rudolf Hiestand, 'Kingship and crusade in Germany', in Haverkamp and Vollrath (eds), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, p. 258. Hiestand notes that on several occasions during the twelfth century the German emperors used the crusade to gain 'substantial concessions' from the German princes.

[29] The letter can be found in *Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus*, ed. J. P. Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1841–64), CCI, pp. 529–34. Translation from Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 72.

[30] Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (York, 2001), p. 208.

[31] For the dating of Peter's work and his career in the months between the fall of Hattin and the Third Crusade, see Richard Southern, 'Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade', in Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (eds), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis* (London, 1985), pp. 207–18, esp. p. 214.

preaching.[32] Like Baldwin, Gerald was a logical choice for the job: archdeacon of Brecon, a member of the court and in the service of the English crown since 1184, Gerald had acted as a 'liaison-officer' between Henry II and the Welsh princes.[33] He also accompanied Prince John to Ireland in 1185, proving himself a loyal servant.[34] In addition, Gerald was related to the marcher and princely families of Wales, the very people who, it was hoped, would go on crusade. His great-grandfather was Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of South Wales, and his grandmother, Rhys's daughter Nest. Gerald and the Lord Rhys, therefore, were both great-grandsons of Rhys ap Tewdwr, which, according to Conway Davies, created an 'intimate' relationship between Gerald and the dynasty of Deheubarth.[35] Through his Norman father he was related to the lords of the March. Although the name bestowed upon Gerald ('of Wales') suggests that he was a Welshman, he was not viewed as such by all. He complained of the English and Welsh, 'both peoples regard me as a stranger and one not their own . . . one nation suspects me, the other hates me'.[36] Gerald was still, however, a valuable asset, and was obviously capable of exerting influence in Wales. In 1174 he had successfully solved the problem of the non-payment of tithes on wool and cheese in Wales, and after Henry II's death Richard I sent him to a disturbed Wales, where Gerald 'did much to pacify the country'.[37] It was hoped that Gerald would be able to bestir those who might have been unwilling to follow the lead of the archbishop.

The decision to enlist the help of the archbishop of Canterbury and Gerald of Wales was, therefore, the result of more than Henry II's desire to recruit men from Wales for the crusade. Baldwin used the opportunity to visit the seats of the four Welsh bishoprics to underline his control over them; it appears that the timing of the tour also conveniently took

[32] Pryce, 'Gerald of Wales', 26–8.

[33] Trans. Thorpe, p. 15.

[34] For Gerald's employment in Ireland in John's retinue, see Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2006), p. 21.

[35] J. Conway Davies, 'Giraldus Cambrensis, 1146–1946', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, XCIX (1946–7), 100.

[36] *Opera*, VIII (*De Principis Instructione*), p. lviii.

[37] Conway Davies, 'Giraldus Cambrensis, 1146–1946', 90, 105.

him away from Canterbury. Gerald was the logical choice to accompany him: a loyal servant to the crown and related to the leading family of south Wales, he could be relied on to promote Henry's wishes and use his connections to the tour's advantage. Lastly, the tour aimed to secure a certain degree of peace with the Welsh lords by recruiting troublemakers for the crusade (a factor that was necessary if not only the Anglo-Normans but other native Welshmen were to take the Cross). Understanding how this was achieved necessitates more than an examination of the motivations of the men involved. How the crusade message was promulgated was central to the success of the archbishop's mission, and to this the chapter now turns.

II The Logistics of the Tour

Baldwin's tour of Wales and the March was extensive. The route of his journey appears to have been carefully considered in order to allow preaching to be undertaken at locations that would succeed in recruiting the greatest number of men. The archbishop and his companions tended to preach in urban centres, castles, monasteries and cathedrals in order to increase the number of people who would be present for his sermon. He made a point of celebrating Mass in the four cathedrals, both as a way of asserting his authority over the church in Wales, and because the cathedrals were capable of accommodating large audiences. Gerald noted that Baldwin, in 'an attempt to encourage people to take the Cross . . . has planned to celebrate Mass in every one of the Welsh cathedrals'.[38] Baldwin did not, however, preach the Cross at St David's. He left that to Gerald, largely because he had to meet Rhys ap Gruffydd in Cardigan. At Llandaff, where 'The English stood on one side and the Welsh on the other', Baldwin succeeded in recruiting many crusaders.[39] The events in Bangor Cathedral appear to have been elaborately stage-managed, for in front of a church full of people Bishop Gwion of Bangor 'was hard pressed by the Archbishop and a number of other people, importuned, in fact, rather than

[38] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 104–5; Trans. Thorpe, p. 164.
[39] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 67; Trans. Thorpe, p. 126.

persuaded, and in the end there was nothing for it but that he himself should take the Cross'.[40] Gerald's description of events at Bangor reads as if the preaching party had decided in advance that the involvement of the bishop might set a good example to his flock, and exerted pressure until he yielded to their entreaties. Although Baldwin celebrated mass in St Asaph, it appears that he did not have time to preach the Cross there, setting out 'again almost immediately' for Basingwerk. The fact that Gerald tells us that Baldwin celebrated Mass at St Asaph, but does not mention whether this included crusade preaching, suggests that his decision to stop at St Asaph was related to stamping his authority in the church in Wales, and not about preaching the Cross to the people of north-east Wales.[41]

The choice of preaching locations in Wales and the March and the varying degrees of success achieved were a reflection of the history and ethnic make-up of the country. First and foremost was the desire to preach in important towns and villages such as Rhuddlan, where people were accustomed to collect for fairs and markets. The archbishop of York employed the same techniques in 1291, instructing the friars to preach in 'places where they believed that many people would be likely to attend'.[42] Some locations chose themselves: the small town of Abergavenny, known as the 'gateway to Wales', was the logical route through the border county.[43] Of the places chosen, several, such as Chester, Caerleon and Carmarthen, had been settled since Roman times. Others (Nefyn, Brecon, Kidwelly) had grown up around Norman castles, and some (like Cardiff) attracted people to the markets they held. Nevern lay on the pilgrimage route to St David's, Nefyn on the route to Bardsey.[44] In addition,

[40] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 125; Trans. Thorpe, p. 185. It is also possible that Gwion's reluctance was due to the fact that he was a Welshman and thus saw the tour as a sign of Canterbury's attempts to control the diocese. See below, chapter 5, for a discussion of the support from among native churchmen for the tour.

[41] Although Gerald does not specifically mention crusade preaching, it seems highly unlikely that Baldwin would not have included an exhortation to take the Cross in his sermon.

[42] Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 106.

[43] Ian Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester, 1983), p. 64.

[44] In the 1120s Calixtus II 'encouraged English pilgrims to go to St David's rather than Rome, because of the length of the journey; those who went twice to St David's

several of the towns visited by the archbishop had mints. Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford were the main mints on the borders, and by the time of the tour mints had also been established at Cardiff, Carmarthen, St David's and Rhuddlan.[45] Admittedly at the end of the twelfth century the Welsh still generally dealt in payment in kind, but the circulation of money in Wales was significant, and so visiting the financial centres of Wales, however small, was a wise move if men who were able to fund their crusading activities were to be found.[46]

Most interesting of all the preaching locations was Haverfordwest, where Gerald had his greatest success. The Flemings had settled Haverfordwest at the beginning of the twelfth century and, although there were many Welsh and Anglo-Norman inhabitants, they maintained a large measure of control in the area.[47] The Flemings were far from uninterested in the Holy City: the castellan of Haverfordwest, Richard FitzTancred, had already demonstrated the devotion of the Flemings by undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[48] Aside from the success of the preaching itself, Haverfordwest was a cloth-manufacturing and wool-trading centre connecting Wales with continental Europe and Ireland, and the enthusiastic reaction there may have been a result of the cosmopolitan nature of the town, which had a large population of men and women who were already accustomed to the idea of extensive overseas travel.[49] The decision to preach at Haverfordwest may have been the result of Baldwin's knowledge of the contribution of the Flemings to the English

should have the same privileges in the way of benediction as those who went once to Rome'. See William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998), I, pp. 779–80; Soulsby, *Towns*, p. 192.

[45] Davies, *Age*, p. 162.

[46] The idea that the Saladin Tithe would finance crusaders from Wales was fine in theory, but in reality many men would have had to fund their own journeys, as well as those of members of their retinues.

[47] *BT. RBH*, pp. 52–3.

[48] Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Duorum, or a Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Yves Lefevre and R. B. C. Huygens, trans. Brian Dawson (Cardiff, 1974), p. 39.

[49] Ibid., pp. 37–39. The way in which the Flemish settlers may have been more inclined to accept the preaching at Haverfordwest, rather than viewing it as an attempt to spread English political and ecclesiastical power into Wales, is discussed in chapter 5, p. 191, of this volume.

contingent of the Second Crusade, when they had assisted at the siege of Lisbon. Such 'brave and robust people' would have been an asset. In addition, preaching at Haverfordwest might help to end, at least for a time, the 'perpetual state of conflict' that existed between the native Welsh and Flemings that would have hindered any plans either group may have had to go on crusade.[50]

Once the archbishop's party crossed the River Dyfi they entered the part of Wales that was still firmly under native rule. There were fewer urban centres, and the influence of the marcher lords was weaker than in the south. In north Wales, Baldwin no longer had the company of Rhys ap Gruffydd, who had done so much in the south to help the mission and promote enthusiasm among the Welsh princes.[51] He had particular difficulty preaching in Anglesey, where the men of Rhodri ab Owain's court were unmoved by his address.[52] Baldwin's tour spent less time in north Wales, only eight days in comparison with the entire month spent in the south, and their reception there appears to have been less coordinated.[53] Whereas the Lord Rhys met Archbishop Baldwin in Radnor at the beginning of the tour, then at Cardigan, and accompanied him until he left his territories, in north Wales Gruffydd ap Cynan did not greet Baldwin's party until the morning after their arrival, 'humble and devoutly begging the Archbishop's pardon for having been so slow to do so'.[54] Whether or not Gruffydd's apology was genuine, or an attempt to demonstrate his disapproval of the archbishop's tour, is impossible to determine, although the good relations between Baldwin and the Lord Rhys (who was an enemy of Gruffydd's) may have made his response to the tour more negative.[55] It is undeniable, however, that the preachers met with a less favourable response in the north than they had in

[50] 'fortis et robusta', *Itin. Kam.*, p. 83; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 141, 142.

[51] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 122; Trans. Thorpe, p. 181.

[52] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 126; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 185–6.

[53] Henry Owen, *Gerald the Welshman* (London, 1904), p. 61.

[54] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 123; Trans. Thorpe, p. 182. The possible political dimension to Gruffydd's response is discussed in chapter 5, p. 189, of this volume.

[55] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 136–7. Rhodri took one of the Lord Rhys's daughters as a mistress in order to gain Rhys's allegiance against Maredudd and Gruffydd ap Cynan, his nephews.

south Wales and the borderland. This could be attributed to several factors, the lesser amount of time spent in the north being just one. Bishop Reiner had, for example, already recruited a number of men in the north.[56] Baldwin did not help his cause by ordering the exhumation of the excommunicate Owain Gwynedd from Bangor Cathedral, a move that was clearly going to be unpopular.[57] Jones commented that 'from the Welsh standpoint Baldwin did unwisely to order the removal of Owain Gwynedd's body' from its resting place at Bangor.[58] What is perhaps more important, however, is that the preaching tour had fewer natural allies in the north. The princes of Gwynedd and Powys were not as supportive as Rhys ap Gruffydd and, in the case of Owain Cyfeiliog, failed to meet the archbishop. There were none of the marcher lords to whom Gerald was a natural ally, nor any of his Welsh relatives, and it was perhaps for this reason that Gerald does not refer to preaching there. After delivering an address at Lampeter he does not mention doing so until the tour reached Shrewsbury.[59] In the north, the native Welsh population may have been smaller and more scattered, rendering Gerald's oratory skills redundant. North Wales seems to have been understandably suspicious of the reasons for Baldwin's tour, and reacted accordingly.

Baldwin chose to undertake his preaching tour during Lent, a time favoured by those preaching the crusade, as it focused on the festival of Easter, which carried a powerful message of the repentance of sin. Emperor Frederick I's *Curia Dei* was undertaken during Lent, as were preaching campaigns by the friars in England in 1252 and 1292.[60] Easter itself was celebrated in Chester, where the crusade sermons that inspired many men to take the Cross must have been linked to the message of Easter.[61] A good deal of preplanning went into the tour, a fact highlighted by the way that

[56] Ibid., p. 142.

[57] For a further discussion of the significance of the exhumation for Anglo-Welsh relations and the power of Canterbury see chapter 5, p. 191, of this volume.

[58] Thomas Jones, 'Gerald the Welshman's Itinerary and Description of Wales: an appreciation and analysis', *NLWJ*, VI (1949–50), 126.

[59] Ibid., 119, 144; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 178, 202.

[60] Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 108–9.

[61] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 142.

Baldwin and Gerald 'were met by the Princes of Powys' on their tour, and Baldwin was forced to rush from St David's in order to make the date of his meeting with the Lord Rhys.[62] The preaching was also coordinated with that in north Wales, where Reiner of St Asaph preached to the Welsh. Gerald observed that on hearing Baldwin preach, the men of north Wales 'were persuaded to take the Cross, but most of them had already done so, thanks to the efforts of Reiner'.[63]

The importance of having the help of an additional preacher working in another part of the country should not be underestimated, especially as Reiner was delivering crusade sermons in his own diocese, and could reasonably be expected to have known what might have stirred the men there to take action. In 1146, Bernard of Clairvaux was supported (though not in the way he wanted) by the anti-semitic preaching of the renegade Cistercian Ralph, who preached along the Rhine and in eastern France. Bernard attempted to stop his preaching against the Jews, and although Ralph was eventually sent back to his monastery, there was no denying that his preaching had succeeded in recruiting a large number of men from these areas for the crusade. The Lisbon Letter attributes the recruitment of the Second Crusaders to both Bernard and Ralph, and it is fair to say that, had it not been for Ralph's preaching, the effectiveness of Bernard's attempts at recruitment might have been less.[64] This was also the case in Wales: since Baldwin spent so little time in north Wales, the impact of the crusade message would have been significantly less had it not been for the efforts of the local bishop.

In order to maximise the impact of the crusading message, Baldwin often chose to use several speakers. At Lampeter he used three, in addition to himself: Gerald of Wales, Abbot John of Whitland and Abbot Seisyll of Strata Florida.[65] Although Seisyll was a Welshman, he does not appear to have acted as interpreter in Lampeter, for when Seisyll preached

[62] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 110, 142; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 169, 200.

[63] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 142; Trans. Thorpe, p. 200.

[64] Susan Edgington, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research*, 69 (1996), 332–3.

[65] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 119; Trans. Thorpe, p. 178.

again in Anglesey, the services of Alexander, the local archdeacon, and another Welshman were employed in translating the sermons. At Shrewsbury both Gerald and Baldwin spoke, but no local religious figures joined them.[66] The use of local preachers was more than just an act of courtesy to the resident religious; by using these men to preach, Baldwin's tour was no doubt trying to make itself more acceptable to the indigenous audience. Local knowledge meant that these men would know who to approach on the tour, how to pass on the messages of the preaching, and how to allay any fears of the Welsh. If Welshmen and religious leaders whom many of them knew, or knew about, were accompanying the tour, it might look less like an English group trying to enforce the king's decisions on Wales, no matter how voluntary the act of taking the Cross itself was supposed to be. Local leaders would also know which note to strike with their audiences, because they would understand the factors that would motivate these men to commit themselves to journeying to the East.

Gerald and the archbishop did not just enlist local preachers in order to spread the message of the crusade; they were also needed to act as interpreters for those who could not understand Latin. This may be one of the reasons why Gerald's role in the preaching was less pronounced once the archbishop's party crossed the River Dyfi into north Wales. For all the references to Gerald as a Welshman, it appears that he had only a rudimentary understanding of the language, and was certainly not fluent enough to preach in Welsh.[67] His skills with English and French were of more use in the south, where Richter observed that French and English would have been widely spoken in the areas settled by the Anglo-Normans. Latin was probably understood to the same degree in both north and south. Not being able to speak a language did not preclude understanding it; although Henry II did not speak English, he understood it well enough.[68] Baldwin and Gerald appear to have preached

[66] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 144; Trans. Thorpe, p. 202.

[67] For a thorough examination of Gerald's linguistic skills, see Stefan Zimmer, 'A medieval linguist: Gerald de Barri', *Etudes Celtiques*, 35 (2003), 313–50.

[68] Michael Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis: The Growth of the Welsh Nation* (Aberystwyth, 1972), pp. 71–2, n.33.

in Latin or French, which may have motivated the lords and settlers of the March, but the language barrier may have affected the more personal relationship between preacher and some prospective *crucesignati* that would have developed if they had been able to preach in Welsh. They were instead forced to rely on interpreters at Radnor, Usk, in Anglesey, at St David's and in Anglesey in order to deliver their crusade message.[69]

The use of interpreters was not unusual in preaching, and was certainly not peculiar to Wales. At the time of the Second Crusade the preachers appointed by the pope in southern France had to be accompanied by members of the local clergy, as they did not speak French, and the sermon of Pedro, bishop of Lisbon, was translated from Latin by interpreters into the various languages used by his audience.[70] Nineteenth-century historians argued that most sermons were delivered in two languages, Latin and the audience's mother-tongue, and although this view was rejected for a time, Giles Constable demonstrated that this was certainly the case.[71] Indeed, in Wales, where the senior churchmen were often Anglo-Norman and had no knowledge of the local language, many of the sermons would have been delivered in Latin, so Baldwin's method of preaching in Latin and then engaging the aid of interpreters would not have appeared strange.[72]

Even without the aid of interpreters, preaching in Latin would have had an impact on Baldwin's and Gerald's audiences, and in some respects may have proved more successful than preaching in Welsh. Sermonising in Latin created an aura of 'mystery, sonority and prestige' that would have lent weight to the contents of the sermons, even if they could not be fully understood.[73] Translating crusade preaching could also be problematic, in that rendering into Welsh

[69] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 14, 55, 126; Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 77; Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1990), p. 104.

[70] Ibid., p. 104; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 71.

[71] Giles Constable, 'The language of preaching in the twelfth century', *Viator*, 25 (1994), 131–52.

[72] Ibid., 141.

[73] Ibid., 139.

speeches which were undoubtedly full of biblical references that many were used to hearing in Latin may have lost some of the potency of the words. Simplifying particularly florid and persuasive language could also alter the atmosphere of a sermon. After Gerald preached in Latin at St David's, he claimed that many came to take the Cross, 'yet when they heard the words of his interpreter, which were far less well-ordered and persuasive, immediately recoiled from the vow that they had taken'.[74] Gerald tells us this, in part, to demonstrate how superior his own preaching in Latin was to that in Welsh, but also to show his readers that the lack of men who went from Wales was not his fault.[75] He had preached successfully; it was his interpreter who had deterred his audience with his clumsy translation. It is also possible that his Welsh audience had been stirred by the enthusiasm of his speech, and once the interpreter explained the technicalities of the crusade enterprise they were not so sure of their commitment. This was shown at Haverfordwest, where Gerald preached in Latin and French. There is no mention of a translator, but Gerald was greeted by the tears of the crowd, the same number of those who could not understand him rushing forward as those who could. Gerald compared himself with St Bernard, who addressed the Germans in French and elicited a similar response; when Bernard's sermon was translated into German it was so poor that many left the place where he had preached rather than listen further.[76]

If language proved a barrier to communication, it was possible to stir the crowds assembled to hear the preaching through dramatic gestures and demonstrations of piety. The Franciscan Robert of Lecce, for example, tore off his habit to expose the armour underneath while preaching the Cross.[77] Gerald realised the value of putting on a good show, and

[74] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 77; translation from Gerald of Wales, *Autobiography*, p. 102.

[75] Wado, 'Gerald on Gerald', 241.

[76] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 76; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Medieval sermons and their performance: theory and record', 110.

[77] Augustine Thompson, 'From texts to preaching: retrieving the medieval sermon as an event', in Carolyn Muessing (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Brill, 2002), p. 25.

when Baldwin opened the preaching at Radnor, Gerald was the first to respond. 'I threw myself at the holy man's feet and devoutly took the sign of the Cross', he wrote.[78] There was certainly a large element of stage-management in Gerald's action. Wado believes that Gerald took the Cross first in order to better Peter de Leia, bishop of St David's: 'as Gerald had plotted, Peter had to follow Gerald's example'.[79] In *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Gerald reiterates the point made in the *Itinerarium* that this was entirely stage-managed, for he insists that he had taken the Cross 'at the urgent request of the King before . . . departure'.[80] If the request had been urgent, Gerald could have done so long before the party reached Radnor, but the significance of his gesture would have been lost, and Gerald would not have been able to cast himself in the role of the devout and eager trendsetter in his tale of the journey through Wales. There is no doubt that Gerald was pious and believed in the purpose of the preaching tour, but the timing of his personal commitment underlines the fact that he was an intelligent man who understood the significance of a well-timed gesture.

It would be easier to understand the response of the audiences if we knew the contents of the sermons, but unfortunately Gerald did not feel that the sermons themselves were interesting enough to include in his narrative.[81] He was not unusual in this respect; Maier observed that crusade sermons 'were not the stuff of medieval chronicles or of other narrative accounts'.[82] The timing of the tour to coincide with Lent suggests that there would have been a prominent message of penitence; the large number of 'notorious criminals . . . robbers, highwaymen and murderers' from the area around Usk who took the Cross was probably motivated by the idea

[78] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 14; Trans. Thorpe, p. 75.

[79] Wado, 'Gerald on Gerald', 238.

[80] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 74; translation from Gerald of Wales, *Autobiography*, p. 98.

[81] The lack of information on the contents of sermons is a common problem when using narrative sources to reconstruct preaching. See Thompson, 'From texts to preaching', p. 25.

[82] Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 3. For examples of crusade sermons, ibid., pp. 83–249.

of the indulgences, seeing crusading as a way of cleansing their sins.[83] The indulgence was always a prominent part of crusade preaching; it offered the secular world a way to redeem sin without having to enter a monastic cell. Twelve archers from St Clears, near Carmarthen, who had killed a would-be crusader joined the crusade as an act of penance for the murder.[84] The theme of the rewards of martyrdom must also have formed part of Baldwin's message at Radnor. Clement had reminded Baldwin of the indulgence in his letter of February 1188:

> Also, we will that you effectively induce those who are subject to your authority to join in this work, that since you and they had been partakers together in their suffering, you may be, as the apostle says, partakers of the consolation, and of that remission which had generally been granted in former times by our predecessor Pope Gregory . . . to all who themselves go thither in person, or send suitable assistance . . . Moreover, whoever, being truly penitent, shall go thither in his own person, shall have remission of all sins.[85]

Baldwin, in his capacity as archbishop of Canterbury, would also have been expected to spread the messages laid out in the *Audita Tremendi* – penitence, the opportunity provided by crusade, right intent, a need for peace in Europe – with the greatest emphasis on the last of these points. Baldwin may have been instructed by Henry II to emphasise this last message as a way of ending the conflict in Wales, at least for the duration of the crusade. The preaching possibly included reference to Christian duty towards Christ's patrimony, which was commonly used in crusade preaching.[86] It was this message which appeared to be at work when Baldwin persuaded Einion ap Einion Clud (died 1191) to take the Cross, for he said to Rhys ap Gruffydd: 'My lord and father, with your permission I hasten to avenge the injury done to God the father almighty'.[87] Although Gerald has not given us a description of the contents of the sermon, he hints at it in the wording of Einion's reply.

[83] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 55; Trans. Thorpe, p. 114.
[84] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 82; Trans. Thorpe, p. 140.
[85] *Opera*, VIII (*De Principis Instructione*), p. 237.
[86] At Lisbon in 1147 the bishop of Oporto urged the crusaders to 'defend the fatherland in war against the barbarians'. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 81.
[87] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 14–15; Trans. Thorpe, p. 76.

What Gerald does tell us is how he preached. In Haverfordwest, where he had his greatest success, Gerald 'divided his sermon into three parts and reserved the strong power of persuasion for the close of each of these'.[88] The success of this technique may have been a contributory factor to the enthusiastic response he received. Humbert of Romans, who wrote a guide to preaching, *De Praedicatione Crucis contra Saracenos*, in the late 1260s, suggested that sermons be divided into short sections, each one culminating in an exhortation to take the Cross.[89] It is worth remembering, however, that no matter how technically proficient the speech-making or how impassioned the words, many of the assembled crowd simply would not be able to understand what was going on, but were swept up by the mood of the audience.

The other method used by Baldwin throughout his tour in order to persuade influential men to take the Cross was to engage them in a private audience. This method was first used to effect at Cruker Castle, near Radnor, where, after a 'talk with the Archbishop about taking the Cross', Hector agreed to go on crusade. The same evening Baldwin spoke with Maelgwn ap Cadwallon, prince of Maelienydd (died 1197), 'briefly and to the point, and he, too, was signed with the Cross'.[90] The greatest advantage of addressing an individual was that Baldwin was able to tailor his message to suit. When a man named Arthenus was asked to take the Cross, he replied:

> 'I cannot take such a step without consulting my friends.' 'Ought you not discuss the matter with your wife?' asked the Archbishop. Arthenus looked down at the ground and replied with some embarrassment: 'this is man's work which we are considering. There is no point in asking the advice of a woman.' Thereupon he took the Cross from the Archbishop without waiting any longer.[91]

Gerald's description reads as if Baldwin shamed Arthenus into becoming a crusader; he seems to have aimed his

[88] 'tres particulas', *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 75; translation from *Autobiography*, p. 100.
[89] Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 114–15.
[90] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 16; Trans. Thorpe, p. 77.
[91] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 49; Trans. Thorpe, p. 109.

comments at a weakness in Arthenus's character that would make him amenable to changing his mind. Baldwin's success here was a mixture of the effectiveness of a personal address and the prospect of public humiliation. Much has been made of St Bernard's success in recruiting Conrad III of Germany to the crusading cause by a personal address, but St Bernard's ability to convince Conrad had more in common with Baldwin's conversion of Arthenus than with that of Hector and Maelgwn. St Bernard addressed Conrad twice in private at Frankfurt and Speyer, but it was not until he aimed his personal comments at Conrad during Mass when an audience was present that Conrad relented and took the Cross.[92]

It is possible that some men from Wales were indirectly influenced by Baldwin's sermons when they decided to join the crusade after hearing tales of miracles associated with the sites of his preaching. Gerald mentions miracles that occurred after Baldwin delivered a sermon in his account of the tour. The first occurred after his appearance at Haverfordwest, where the son of a blind old woman took a piece of the turf where Baldwin had stood home to his mother, whereupon she, pressing the earth to her face and praying, miraculously regained her sight.[93] The second entry relates to Cardigan. Here, the people of the town erected a chapel to commemorate Baldwin's preaching, and 'crowds of sick people thronged to this spot from all parts of the country and many miracles were performed there'. Gerald does not elaborate, saying only, 'but I have no time to tell you about them'.[94] The occurrence of miracles in conjunction with preaching could lend a potency to the preaching that words alone might not have achieved. 'When miracles occurred in conjunction with preaching', explains Kienzle, 'the sermon's performance gained a divine actor working "offstage", or intervening like the *Deus ex machina* of drama; the dimensions of multimediality expanded; and the potential for transforming the listeners intensified.'[95] Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching at Sarlat in Gascony was followed by

[92] Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 45–6.
[93] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 83.
[94] Ibid., p. 113; Trans. Thorpe, p. 172.
[95] Kienzle, 'Medieval sermons', p. 111.

miracles of healing that apparently showed the holiness of his preaching.[96] The potency of miracle stories could have inspired some to join the crusade even after Baldwin and his party had left, so it is possible that the arrival of the archbishop at Cardigan and Haverfordwest touched more than those who actually heard him preach.

The recruitment tour thus implemented preaching techniques that were popular with other crusade preachers – tripartite sermons, careful choice of location and careful stage-management – and encountered many of the same problems met by preachers in Germany and France, namely the initial reluctance to join the crusade, and the issue of translation and its impact on sermons.[97] The tour that Gerald describes had all the key elements that made recruitment preaching successful, and even though Gerald overstated his own importance at times, there is no denying that his preaching, and that of the archbishop and his companions, was favourably met, especially in the south. Baldwin's visit to Wales was part of a tradition that was on the wane, but in a region with comparatively poor transport and communication links, it was the most effective method of spreading the message of the crusade.

III Impact of the Tour

The success of the preaching tour can best be gauged by assessing the strength of the response to the crusade sermons. The effectiveness of preaching in Latin and French is hard to gauge, but an impression can be gleaned from Gerald's works. He certainly thought that it worked:

> we saw that venerable and holy man, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, enter Wales to preach the crusade, and with the labour of love go round and penetrate the inmost regions. Though the Welsh could not understand his language, almost every day he was continually

[96] 'Liber Tertius, Auctore Gaifrido Monacho quondam Clarae Vallensi, et S. Bernardi notario, postea Abbatie', in *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXV, pp. 313–14.

[97] For the way in which preaching and recruitment were conducted under Gregory IX, see Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia, 2005), pp. 24–31. Gregory IX instructed preachers to base their sermons around his crusade bull, *Rachel sum videns*.

> preaching the word of salvation . . . And so he filled them with great devotion, and induced a great number of them to take the cross.[98]

Gerald gave particular weight to the skill of his own preaching; he claims, 'a great number of men were drawn to hear the persuasive speech of Giraldus, but very few to listen to the Archbishop and the rest'.[99] Gerald complained that King John later reprimanded him, 'because by his preaching he had emptied his lands of all the strength of men that was his defence against the Welsh'.[100] Although Gerald's claims are a sign of his own self-promotion, they suggest that it was the Anglo-Norman settlers who heard Gerald's preaching – and not the Welsh – and who responded to his entreaties. Although Gerald boasted that he was responsible for the hordes who signed up to the Cross, the atmosphere created during the delivery of his sermons, rather than their content, may have been the cause of native enthusiasm.[101] Gerald claimed to have had more success in Cemais. After his efforts there, John Spang, Rhys ap Gruffydd's fool, told his patron:

> O Rhys, you ought greatly to love this kinsman of yours, the Archdeacon; for to-day he has sent a hundred of your men or more to serve Christ; and if he had spoken in Welsh, I do not think that a single man would have been left you out of all this multitude.[102]

For all Gerald's talk of success, the only way of knowing how much the preaching tour of 1188 contributed to Welsh involvement in crusading is to consider how many men went on crusade to the Holy Land. Although crusade participation is considered in greater depth in the next chapter, it is worth noting here how many men took the Cross at the time of the Third Crusade, so that the success of the tour of 1188 can be judged. Initial enthusiasm does not appear to have been running particularly high; Gerald's relative, Philip Mangonel, warned Gerald at Haverfordwest that 'not one good man in all the country would take the Cross

[98] *Speculum Duorum*, pp. 52, 53

[99] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 78; translation from *Autobiography*, p. 103.

[100] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 76; translation from *Autobiography*, p. 101.

[101] Gerald's claim contains a certain degree of hyperbole, and examples where the reader finds Gerald the cause of the most wondrous events must be treated with a certain degree of caution, if not scepticism.

[102] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 77; translation from *Autobiography*, p. 102.

for all his preaching or that of the archbishop, and that therefore they had come thither for nothing'.[103] Gerald did not mention this in the *Itinerarium*, and it is possible that it was included later in order to highlight the success at Haverfordwest despite the sceptical attitude of the audience. In other places, women could not prevent their men from running to take the Cross, even though they held on to their clothing.[104] A large number of men certainly responded favourably to the mission, both princes and common men, but of the 3,000 men quoted by Gerald, even he admits that a large number of them did not set out. He attributes this to the delay of the crusade, caused by 'the dilatory nature of the Holy Roman Emperor, the dissensions which arose between our own kings, and the unexpected and premature death of the King of Sicily'.[105] Although he boasted of the success of the mission, Gerald clearly knew that it did not have the intended impact. In this context, a dream he had at Chinon in May 1189 is particularly interesting. Gerald dreamed that he saw God being dragged from his throne, at which a cry went up: 'Woch woch, Pater et Filius! Woch woch, Spiritus Sanctus!'[106] Gerald saw his dream as a warning about the Latin East. Bartlett observed: 'The cry "Woch woch, Pater et Filius!", half German and half Latin, referred to the fact that only German- and Latin-speaking nations and their princes – Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, Henry II, and Richard – had responded to the plight of the Holy Land.'[107] This list, of course, omits the Welshmen whom Gerald had been sent to recruit the year before and who, if Gerald's dream is any indication, appear to have been few in number. Those who did embark on crusade, however, did make efforts to organise themselves into bands of *crucesignati*: Davies tells us that they enlisted under the banners of Sir Bartholomew Mortimer and others.[108] His followers would have been a mixture of

[103] *Opera*, I (*De Rebus*), p. 75; translation from *Autobiography*, p. 100.
[104] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 20; Trans. Thorpe, p. 80.
[105] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 147; Trans. Thorpe, p. 205.
[106] The dream is recounted in *De Expugnatio*, pp. 369–72.
[107] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 69.
[108] A Bartholomew Mortimer is mentioned in Ambroise. Hubert could not identify him, but it is likely that he was the marcher lord who led the Welsh to the crusade. *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. Marianne

Welshmen and Cymro-Normans, because the preaching tour included the Norman settlers as often as the Welsh, perhaps more so as they would have understood the sermons without need of translation.

Those who could not go on crusade offered alternatives, usually in the form of money or service of some kind. An elderly man named Cador offered a donation of a tenth of his possessions in return for half the indulgence, as 'the weakness of old age and the ravages of time' made it impossible for him to contribute militarily.[109] Others, no doubt, offered financial support, although Gerald does not document this in his records. The papacy decided on an alternative method of remuneration from those who did not fulfil their vows: they were instead to commit themselves to the repair of the cathedral at St David's. Gerald himself was offered this alternative when he asked for permission to remain at home:

> 4 June 1203 . . . G(erald), archdeacon of St. Davids, has informed the Pope that whereas formerly he had taken the sign of the cross, at the instance of Henry II, on a hope given to him on a subvention of his expenses if he went to Jerusalem with him, but the king dying in the meantime, the archdeacon frustrated of his hope, did not have the means, of his own, to fulfil the vow, John, cardinal priest, when in those parts performing the office of legate, taking compassion on the poverty of the archdeacon, absolved him from the labour of the journey, provided he gave work and aid to repair the church of St. Davids. When afterwards there was a papal mandate that those who had received the sign of the cross should be compelled by sentence of excommunication to undertake the journey, unless they had the Pope's special indulgence, the archdeacon, when he has dealt with the matter of the church of St Davids, is compelled to resume the sign of the cross. The pope therefore in all these circumstances, and talking compassion on his age and infirmity, absolves him from undertaking the journey.[110]

Gerald's case highlights the problem encountered by many would-be crusaders: that of financing the expedition.

Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003), I, line 11388, p. 184; E. Davies, *A General History of the County of Radnor* (Brecknock, 1905), p. 39.

[109] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 73–4; Trans. Thorpe, p. 132.

[110] *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, ed. James Conway Davies, 2 vols (Cardiff, 1946), I, p. 326, Doc #367. Peter de Leia re-planned St David's in 1180. By the time Gerald was excused, the work on the building was already under way.

Numerous men no doubt took the Cross in Wales out of a desire to aid the Holy Land and from loyalty to their local lords, but the fact that most of them failed to set out for the Latin East meant that there must have been a significant proportion of men who could no longer afford to embark on crusade. Like Gerald, whose dreams 'were troubled by the crusade', these men probably had a genuine desire to go, but a change in circumstances between the time they took the Cross and their intended date of departure meant that undertaking a lengthy crusade to the Latin East was no longer financially viable.[111]

Despite the diminished number of men who departed, sufficient went to ensure that native Welsh and marcher crusaders were mentioned in the crusading chronicles and documents.[112] Both Ambroise and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* mention an incident involving a Welsh archer and a Saracen who engaged in a test of skill outside Tyre:

> A Turk came out to shoot upon us and did not want to turn his back and a Welshman under provocation went out to fire in return. The Welshman was called Marcaduc and was not the son of a lord nor a duke. The Turk was called Grair; he was bold, strong, and seemed powerful. They immediately shot upon one another, the Welshman aiming at the Turk, the Turk at the Welshman. The Turk began to ask the Welshman where he came from, which country. The Welshman replied 'I am from Wales. It is mad of you to come down [here].'

The challenger went on to say that the Saracen could shoot once at the Welshman, and then he could return a shot. Having reneged on the agreement, Marcaduc shot the Saracen. Although this anecdote is regarded as a 'Welsh joke', it also demonstrates the way in which the Welsh were perceived as excellent archers, a fact which Gerald had mentioned in his *Itinerarium*.[113]

[111] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 69.

[112] The number of participants who joined the crusade from Wales and the March is discussed in greater detail below, chapter 3, pp. 100–5, of this volume. See also appendices I and II.

[113] *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997), p. 111, n.1; there are similar stories in the work of Matthew Paris and Walter Map. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, pp. 184–5; Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 100–1, 144–51, 182–205.

A number of Norman settlers also went on the Third Crusade, but whether they were influenced by the efforts of Baldwin and Gerald is hard to prove. In reference to crusade participation, Pryce remarked that 'nor do we hear of Marcher Lords taking the Cross', but although it is true that Gerald does not refer in his works to much marcher recruitment, many crusaders were recruited from the men of the March.[114] Aside from Bartholomew Mortimer, four other men are named in the crusade sources as accompanying Richard I from the March of Wales.[115] John de Lacy, constable of Chester, and Ralph Arden, sheriff of Herefordshire, both came from towns where the Cross was preached, and John Rudd was captain of Ystrad Meurig castle, which lay on the archbishop's route from Strata Florida to Llanbadarn.[116] Others, such as Aaron ap Rhys ap Bledri of Cilsant, came from lands through which the tour passed, and Ieuan Ddu was specifically said later to have taken the Cross 'at the hands of Archbishop Baldwin'. [117] Robert Corbet and John le Strange, lords whose lands lay on the route of the tour between Oswestry and Shrewsbury, are also believed to have taken part.[118] Gerald appears to have omitted the names of the marcher lords who may have taken the Cross for the same reason that he neglected to record the contents of the sermons; listing their names would not fit the theme of his work as a description of the curiosities of Wales.

The majority of the women of Wales referred to in Gerald's works did not seem to harbour any particular enthusiasm for the crusade, and none are noted as taking the Cross in 1188, or at any other time. In *De Rebus*, the women of Shrewsbury

[114] Pryce, 'Gerald of Wales', 30.

[115] *History of the Holy War*, I, p. 76, l.4713, p. 93, l.5782, p. 184, l.11388; *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, Vol I: Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1864), pp. 218, 251, 415.

[116] *Gesta regis Henrici*, II, p. 148; Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 88; Beatrice N. Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades, 1150–1220*, Ph.D. thesis (Bryn Mawr, 1939; privately printed, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1939), p. 120; Carmarthenshire Record Office GB 0211 CAWDOR. Golden Grove Book, 'Advenae of Brecon', p. 197.

[117] J. Rowland, *Pedigree of the Ancient Family of Dolau Cothi* (Carmarthen, 1877), p. 12.

[118] Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1120, fo. 174r. John le Strange returned with a relic of St Thecla of Antioch, for which he had a reliquary casket carved. For John's plans for Ruyton, see R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, 12 vols (London, 1854–60), X, p. 113.

complained: 'If the Archdeacon had not cozened and bewitched our husbands with his soft words and his simple looks, they would have got clear off, as far as the preaching of the others was concerned.'[119] It was Gwenllian, Rhys ap Gruffydd's wife, who dissuaded him from going on crusade, 'playing upon her weakness and exercising her womanly charms'.[120] In Hay, the men rushed forward, 'leaving their cloaks behind in the hands of the wives', such was their passion for the Cross.[121] Gerald's depiction of the women suggests he disapproved of the way in which they interfered in what was essentially men's business, although in reality men were supposed to seek the permission of their wives before embarking upon crusade. It was not for nothing that Bernard of Clairvaux described the wives left behind as 'widows whose husbands are yet living'.[122] He is far kinder in his depiction of a woman, 'far advanced in years', who, after her only son had taken the Cross, was moved to say, 'Jesus Christ, our most dear Lord, I give You heartfelt thanks for having judged me worthy to bear a son whom You have deigned to accept into your service'.[123] Whether women were more likely than male relations to be found dissuading the Welshmen from crusade is unknown, but the space Gerald devotes to complaining of their negative influence seems more a part of his general view of women than an accurate depiction of their involvement. In his second chapter, for example, he devotes a substantial paragraph to the negative characteristics of women.[124]

The most prominent men who took the Cross as a direct result of Baldwin's preaching tour were the Welsh princes. Einion of Elfael, Maelgwn of Maelienydd and Gruffydd, a relative of the Lord Rhys, took the Cross, and other princes expressed an interest in doing so and lent their support to the tour.[125] The most prominent of these was Rhys ap Gruffydd,

[119] Jones, 'Gerald the Welshman's Itinerary', 128.
[120] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 15; Trans. Thorpe, p. 76.
[121] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 20; Trans. Thorpe, p. 80.
[122] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome, 1957–78), VIII, p. 141.
[123] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 113; Trans. Thorpe, p. 172.
[124] Ibid., p. 30.
[125] Ibid., pp. 14, 16; Aron ap Bledri was awarded a lion rampant at the time of the

who, after hearing Baldwin preach at Radnor, 'himself went home quite determined to make the holy journey as soon as the archbishop should have entered his own territory'.[126] Gerald related how Rhys started to prepare himself for the crusade, telling us that, 'for nearly a fortnight he applied himself with great energy to all the preparations necessary for so long a journey, collecting pack-animals and sumpter-saddles, persuading other men to go with him and raising funds'.[127] Rhys's sons 'vied with each other about taking the Cross', and numerous other princes warmly received the archbishop in their lands.[128] Only Owain Cyfeiliog was 'alone of all the Welsh princes' in making 'no move to come with his people to meet the Archbishop', and for this he was excommunicated.[129]

Owain Cyfeiliog may have been the only prince who failed to pay his respects to the archbishop, but his lack of commitment was not necessarily an objection to the idea of aiding the Holy Land. He did not take the Cross because he had no intention of joining the crusade, probably because the 'sensible way in which he managed his land' meant that he was obliged to stay at home.[130] A preliminary analysis of Gerald's *Itinerarium* reads as if all princes of Wales, bar Owain, were enthusiastic supporters of the crusade. Gerald lists those whom Baldwin met: Rhys ap Gruffydd, Einion ab Einion Clud, Maelgwn ap Cadwallon, Morgan ap Caradog ap Iestyn, Maelgwn, Cynwrig and Gruffydd ap Rhys, Gruffydd and Maredudd ap Cynan, Rhodri ab Owain, and Gruffydd and Elise ap Madog. Of those whom Gerald positively identifies as having taken the Cross, there are only two, Einion ab Einion Clud and Maelgwn ap Cadwallon. Despite the disputes of Rhys ap Gruffydd's sons, only Maelgwn lent his support to Baldwin, and even then it was only to 'accompany the Archbishop to the King's court, and that once there he

Third Crusade, but his decision to go was the result of his attachment to the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre and not the result of Baldwin's preaching.

[126] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 15; Trans. Thorpe, p. 76.

[127] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 15; Trans. Thorpe, p. 76.

[128] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 119; Trans. Thorpe, p. 179.

[129] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 144; Trans. Thorpe, p. 202. The political reasoning behind his decision, and the situation in Powys, are discussed in chapter 5, of this volume.

[130] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 144; Trans. Thorpe, p. 202.

would abide by their advice'.[131] Their presence in Baldwin's entourage was as much a way of keeping check on the ambitions of the English in Wales as a result of their devotion to the cause. It also demonstrates that, despite continuing conflict, the Welsh princes accepted English lordship. Although they doubtless would have been interested in crusading, the hostilities that had characterised the relationship between the two countries for the previous century would have made it impossible to separate their natural distrust of the eastern invaders from a genuine desire to help. Thus, while they extended their hospitality to the archbishop and encouraged and supported others who were willing to go, for many of them the reality of embarking upon a crusade was never likely to materialise.

The reasons for this lie behind the conditions in Wales in the 1180s and in the preceding decades. Hartwell-Jones located the source of the lack of Welsh response, 'not in any fear of Moslem scimitars, but in the state of chronic disorder into which Wales had fallen'.[132] The year before Baldwin came to Wales, Owain Cyfeiliog's sons had murdered Owain ap Madog, and Llywelyn ap Cadwallon had had 'his eyes . . . gouged out of his head'.[133] This was not uncommon behaviour in the ruling families of Wales, but the fact that it was a common occurrence did not mean that the Welsh princes were free to ignore it and go to the Holy Land; on the contrary, such a persistent threat from their countrymen, and often their kinsmen, meant that they could not trust their prospective enemies to hold to the peace due to a crusader. Absenting oneself from Wales for any period of time could result in considerable losses, a fact that would have been particularly clear to Owain Cyfeiliog, as he fought to hold lands in Powys that bordered the Norman-held March. Sir John Lloyd observed that it was the 'adroit manoeuvring' and realisation of how absence on crusade could affect the balance of power that led Gruffydd ap Rhys to encourage his brother Maelgwn to go on crusade.[134] If Maelgwn had gone

[131] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 119; Trans. Thorpe, p. 179.
[132] Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain*, p. 118.
[133] *BT. RBH.*, p. 171.
[134] Trans. Thorpe, p. 179, n.327.

to the Latin East it might have proved better for him; in 1189 his father, at the suggestion of Maelgwn's brother Rhys, imprisoned him.[135] If leaving Wales could open up lands to attack, staying gave opportunities to take back lands in the absence of the English king and his magnates. In the years before Baldwin's tour the Welsh leaders had been growing in confidence, and leaving at such a time would have been a blow to their ambitions. In addition, the death of Henry II in 1189 ended the uneasy peace that had existed on a personal basis between the king and Rhys ap Gruffydd for the previous twenty years, leaving the way open for a resumption of hostilities. Rhys took the Cross willingly when Henry II was still on the throne, but the accession of the latter's son, Richard, may have added to Rhys's doubts about joining the crusade. While Richard was in the Holy Land, the Welsh 'covered lost ground at an alarming rate': Rhys ap Gruffydd took the castles of St Clears, Laugharne and Llanstephan in 1189, and Nevern in 1191.[136]

The thirteenth-century chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines tells us a different story about the involvement of the Welsh princes: 'Cum Rege Ricardo fuit unus Rex de Hibernicua unus de Wallia et cum eis Comes de Hollandia'.[137] Alberic was writing in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, using a wide range of sources, among them important works by William of Malmesbury, Baldric of Dol and Otto of Freising, and numerous charters, genealogies and letters.[138] Since there is no record of this Welsh 'king' in any of the known sources, it is safe to conclude that, if Alberic's information was correct, the information came from a now-lost source, such as a personal letter or by oral testimony. He was correct in stating that the count of Holland was present during the crusade, but this duke, Floris III Graaf van Holland, was part of the German emperor's army, not Richard I's. The Irish king mentioned is also

[135] *BT. RBH.*, pp. 171–3.

[136] Michael Richter, 'Gerald of Wales: a reassessment on the 750th anniversary of his death', *Traditio*, XXIX (1973), 384; *BT. RBH.*, pp. 171, 173.

[137] 'With Richard came one King of Ireland and one of Wales and the Count of Holland'. *Accessiones historicae*, II, ed. Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz (Hanover, 1698), p. 390.

[138] M. Prevost (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, IV (Paris, 1948), p. 295.

unknown, although the Irish had been involved in crusading since the First Crusade, and so their involvement here is plausible. The identity of the Welsh prince is unknown, but it does not appear to have been anyone recruited by Baldwin and Gerald, since one may doubt that the latter would have missed an opportunity to boast of such an achievement. Many of the princes are known to have been in Wales at the time: Rhys ap Gruffydd and his sons are referred to in the *Brut*, and Rhodri ab Owain and Gruffydd and Maredudd ap Cynan were too busy fighting each other in the early 1190s to have been on crusade. Despite the title of king given to the Welshman by Alberic, he was probably a member of one of the lesser dynasties of Wales, and although no other source confirms his involvement, the reference to Floris III and the Irish interest in crusading suggests that there is some substance to Aubrey's account.

In the longer term, Baldwin's preaching tour of 1188 seems to have created an interest in crusading in Wales and the March that lasted well into the thirteenth century. Several crusaders, some of whose participation is open to question, are recorded in contemporary sources and later works as embarking upon the Fifth Crusade from areas through which Baldwin's party passed, among them Roger of Plowden, members of the Eyton and Walcot families, Philip of Badger, Morgan ap Hywel of Caerleon and Philip de Albini, governor of Ludlow.[139] The first reference to crusading in Welsh poetry was written in the decade after Baldwin's tour, when Elidir Sais compared Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's seizure of Owain ap Gwynedd's lands in 1197 to the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin.[140] No other large-scale attempts at recruitment were undertaken in Wales again, with further commissions for preaching being left to the bishop of St David's in 1261 and the legate Ottobuono in 1265, with little effect.[141]

[139] Eyton, *Antiquities*, XI, p. 219; D. H. S. Cranage, *The Churches of Shropshire*, 2 vols (Wellington, Shropshire, 1912), II, p. 588; Eyton, *Antiquities*, II, p. 71; Shropshire Archives, Badger Hall Collection, 513/2/2/1/2; Reinhold Röhricht, *Studien Zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1891), p. 89; Michael A. Faraday, *Ludlow, 1085–1660: A Social, Economic, and Political History* (Chichester, 1991), p. 77.

[140] *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*, p. 337.

[141] *Welsh Records in Paris*, pp. 59–74; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating*

Baldwin's preaching tour of 1188 may have recruited 3,000 men, but nowhere near that number travelled from Wales and the March. Welshmen certainly departed, but many never fulfilled their vows. Financing, delays and changes in Anglo-Welsh relations all affected those who might have gone. For others, crusade enthusiasm cooled once the tour had passed; the timing and tactics of the tour were effective while its impact was still fresh, but Baldwin's attempts at extending power and lack of tact in north Wales undid his achievements. In addition, Anglo-Norman settlers in the March and native Welshmen, from the lords and princes to the more minor men who followed them, were essentially governed by the same problems, choosing to stay behind if they felt their own interests were threatened. What the tour of 1188 showed was that there was genuine interest in the crusade in Wales and the March, but that it was, in many cases, held in check by fears of Anglo-Norman supremacy.

to Great Britain and Ireland: Vol. I. A.D. 1198–1304, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893), pp. 427–8.

III

THE RESPONSE: PARTICIPANTS FROM WALES AND THE MARCH

The participation of men from the March of Wales and from Wales itself has been overlooked in studies of crusading. The marcher lords, from the earls of Cheshire, Shrewsbury, Hereford and Pembroke, in addition to those who held estates from them in the March, were the only landholders in England to encounter the unique problem of having to defend their estates from a hostile enemy on an almost permanent basis. Conflict between the English and Scots was more limited, with only four notable clashes between the two in the period between 1070 and 1217; Bartlett observes that the period 1093–*c.*1290 was 'the most peaceful period in the whole history of relations between Britain's two largest kingdoms'.[1] The only time Lloyd mentions the marcher lords as a specific group, for example, is when discussing those who went from the Lord Edward's marcher lordships in 1270–2.[2] Instead, the relationship and mass involvement of the men of the North has proved of greater interest.[3] Only two small studies discuss Welsh crusaders from different periods, but one is very narrow in scope, and the other is both outdated and full of error.[4]

This chapter redresses the balance by putting in context the participation of men from Wales and the March, from the lords and princes to their retinues and landholders, by considering the fragile state of the ever-changing Welsh border at the time of the crusade, and the impact of Anglo-Welsh relations on participation. The first part is a survey of

[1] Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), p. 79.

[2] Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusades*, p. 125.

[3] Ibid., pp. 108–11.

[4] Francis Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', *Journal of the Society of the Church in Wales*, XXVI (1979), 11–33; Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 107–33.

crusade participation from the time of the First Crusade to that of the Lord Edward (1270–2). The lands of the March are taken to mean those along the western border of Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire, which became earldoms between 1067 and 1075, and those of the conquered parts of Wales, which, though their extent fluctuated in this period, included Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire and Glamorgan. Although not traditionally designated a marcher earldom, for the purposes of this study the earldom of Gloucester will also be considered at times, since the earl of Gloucester held Glamorgan from the end of the eleventh century. Welsh participants came from several of these areas, as well as from the unconquered lands of north Wales, or *Pura Wallia*. This chapter then examines what motivated men to go at any particular time, who they went with and why, partly in order to see why there was increased participation from some areas at certain times, and partly to determine how far the relationship between England and Wales influenced participation. It covers a broader range of themes than those mentioned in the previous chapter, and covers a greater geographical spread. Lastly, the effect of the activities of crusaders will be considered, both during their absence as well as on their return, assessing how control in Wales and the March altered, and how religious endowments and building techniques changed.

I Crusade Participants, 1096–1291

The First Crusade (1096–1101) was predominantly a French affair, although participants from other countries were present. William of Malmesbury stated that the message of the council of Clermont:

> affected all who in the remotest islands or among barbarian tribes had heard the call of Christ. The time had come for Welshmen to give up hunting in his forests, the Scotsman forsook his familiar fleas, the Dane broke off his long drawn-out potations, the Norwegian left his diet of raw fish.[5]

[5] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, p. 607.

The Occitan *Canso d'Antioca* included the Welsh, English and Irish among the entourage led by the lord of Thouars.[6] Despite these claims of mass involvement, the response from the British Isles was limited. The contingent that accompanied Robert Curthose was composed mainly of Anglo-Normans, and the number of participants from England were few.[7] The only claim for the participation of minor marcher landholders is found in the eighteenth-century Golden Grove Book of Pedigrees, a genealogical work of questionable merit. It states that William Harley accompanied Robert Curthose and Godfrey of Bouillon to the Holy Land. The Golden Grove Book also claims that William's father-in-law, Jasper Croft of Croft Castle in Herefordshire, went on the First Crusade. [8] Unfortunately, there is no earlier evidence for their participation, so these entries must be treated with caution.

Although the *Canso d'Antioca* is the only source to refer to the lord of Thouars as leading a contingent, its editors believe that the inclusion of his name, unlike those of several others, is 'likely to be accurate',[9] since external references to crusaders from this family suggest the probability of participation. Raymond d'Aguilers's work mentioned a Farald de Thouart, and Geoffrey III and Herbert II of the same family participated.[10] If the lord of Thouars did lead a contingent, why did it involve Welshmen, and is there any further evidence for their participation? According to the seventeenth-century *Llyfr Baglan*, another genealogical study of doubtful certainty, Cyllin Ynfyd 'was a Knight of the

[6] *Canso d'Antioca*, p. 227; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 94.

[7] For a full discussion of the composition of the armies of the First Crusade, see Alan V. Murray, 'Questions of nationality in the First Crusade', *Medieval History*, 1 (1991), 61–73.

[8] Carmarthenshire Record Office GB 0211, CAWDOR. Golden Grove Book, 'The Earl of Oxford's Descents', p. 99. The Golden Grove Book, which was begun in 1765, was based on the works of the genealogists David Edwardes and William Lewis. See Peter C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies, A.D. 300–1400*, 8 vols (Cardiff, 1974), III, p. 12.

[9] *Canso d'Antioca*, p. 109.

[10] Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 94, 207, 211; John H. and Laurita L. Hill, *Raymond d'Aguiliers: Historia francorum qui ceperint Jerusalem* (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 75.

Sepulchre' at this time, suggesting crusade involvement,[11] and Hartwell-Jones claimed a Thomas de Glamorgan went, although he did not name his source.[12]

The links between Thouars and the lands of Wales and the Marches are harder to identify, although the abbey of St Florent of Saumur, which maintained close relations with the viscounts of Thouars,[13] was given a priory at Monmouth on the Welsh border in the period between the Conquest of 1066 and the First Crusade by Wilhenoc of Monmouth;[14] Aimeri of Thouars had participated in the Conquest of 1066, and Beech suggests that these donations could have been linked to his service.[15] It is possible that, through his links to the priory in Monmouth, a member of the Thouars family came into contact with Welshmen, who later followed him, or a member of his family, on crusade.

The crusaders from the area of the March figure most often cited as having participated is Philip the Grammarian, son of Roger of Montgomery, who accompanied Robert Curthose to the Holy Land.[16] However, though Philip was raised in the March, his father's death in 1094 had left him 'no share in the paternal inheritance', effectively severing his ties with the border.[17] At the time of the First Crusade, Philip was in exile in France, where he had fled after Roger of Mowbray's rebellion of 1095, so he had already left the March behind before the Crusade was proclaimed.[18] The

[11] Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 21; *Llyfr Baglan or the Book of Baglan / compiled between the years 1600 and 1607 by John Williams*, ed. Joseph Alfred Bradney (London, 1910), p. 301.

[12] Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain*, p. 113.

[13] When Hebert of Thouars left on crusade in 1101, he asked the abbot of St Florent de Saumur to pray for him, and confirmed a will in favour of a daughter house of St Florent. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 141.

[14] John Reuben Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 48.

[15] George Beech, 'The participation of Aquitanians in the conquest of England, 1066–1100', in *Anglo Norman Studies*, 9 (1986), 22. The link between the viscount of Thouars and donations to St Florent de Saumur was strong, as in 1069 he promised the monks that the church linked to his new castle of Chaize-le-Vicomte would only be granted to them. Jane Martindale, 'Aimeri of Thouars and the Poitevin connection', *Anglo Norman Studies*, 7 (1984), 233–4.

[16] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969–86), IV, p. 303; V, pp. 33–5.

[17] Ibid., IV, p. 303.

[18] Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 91–2.

situation in the March would, therefore, have had no bearing on his decision to depart. More interesting, in the context of marcher relations, is Pezet's belief that Philip was joined by his brother-in-law, Robert FitzHamon of Gloucester, conqueror of Glamorgan.[19] In addition to the familial link between these men, there are two additional points that support the hypothesis of his involvement. Firstly, there is no record of FitzHamon's activities at the time of the crusade;[20] secondly, Thompson suggests that the eyewitness accounts of the crusade in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* came from his patron, Robert FitzHamon, who served with Robert Curthose in the East.[21]

Nelson, however, succinctly submits a compelling case against the proposition. Firstly, Robert is not mentioned in any crusade source of the time. This, of course, should not be seen as indicative of his non-participation, since crusade sources name only a fraction of those who undertook the business of the crusade. Secondly, Robert FitzHamon was a supporter of William Rufus and one of his 'most favoured barons',[22] as he was subsequently of Henry I.[23] Robert FitzHamon would not have gone on crusade with Robert Curthose when he supported his brother William; nor would he have supported Henry I on his return in preference to Robert Curthose, if he had indeed gone with the latter to the Near East. In addition, Robert FitzHamon was with William Rufus on the day he died, whereas Robert Curthose was still travelling back from the Holy Land;[24] though the two men could have parted ways so that Robert FitzHamon returned home early, this seems unlikely. Finally, Robert had just acquired new and vulnerable lands in Glamorgan

[19] M. Pezet, *Les Barons de Creully* (Bayeux, 1854), p. 283, from Lynn H. Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales, 1070–1171* (London, 1966), p. 100. Pezet neglected to identify his source. See also Ralph A. Griffiths, 'The Norman Conquest and the twelve knights of Glamorgan', in Ralph A. Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 22–3.

[20] Nelson, *The Normans*, p. 99.

[21] Rodney Thompson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 180.

[22] Bartlett, *England*, p. 72.

[23] Green describes Robert as one of William's 'closest friends'. After William's death, Robert and his brother 'threw in their lot with the new king'. Judith A. Green, *Henry I, King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 38, 50.

[24] Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales*, pp. 99–100.

and Gwynllŵg in the Welsh March that would require his full attention.[25] It seems, then, that the only crusaders at the time of the First Crusade came either from Herefordshire, if the dubious Golden Grove Book is to be believed, or formed part of a larger contingent that served under a French rather than a Welsh or marcher leader. The reasons for this limited response will be addressed below, when the motives of the crusaders are considered.

The number of crusaders from Wales and the Marches was minimal in the period between the First and Third Crusades: the only notable participant in the large general movement of the Second Crusade (1147–9) was Roger, bishop of Chester, the rest being minor landholders whose participation is, in any case, open to doubt.[26] The rest of the participants from England were from the southern and eastern coastal towns.[27] The relationship between England and Wales may have played a part; after the death of Henry I, the Welsh succeeded in reclaiming a substantial amount of control in south-west Wales, a fact exacerbated by the inadequacies of Stephen's reign.[28] There is, however, evidence of continued interest in crusading among the inhabitants of Wales and the March, where individual crusaders went to the Holy Land on their own account, rather than as part of a general *passagium*. In 1128, Morgan ap Cadwgan went to Jerusalem as penance for killing his brother, perhaps inspired by Hugh de Payen's recruitment drive,[29] and in 1144 a ship of 'pilgrims' drowned on their way to Jerusalem.[30] Gerald of Wales, in his *Itinerarium Kambriae*, relates the tale of the castellan of Radnor castle,

[25] *BT. Pen.*, p. 20; Davies, *Age*, p. 35.

[26] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 32.

[27] *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 13.

[28] Davies, *Age*, pp. 45–7. The murder of Richard fitzGilbert de Clare in April 1136 marked 'the collapse of English power in Wales'. Henry I had succeeded in controlling the Welsh for most of his reign, but his death coincided with the period when the Welsh princes stopped murdering each other and began to strengthen their lands. See David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135–1154* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 54–9; D. Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh kings', in Edmund King (ed.), *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 255–89.

[29] *BT. RBH.*, p. 111. For discussion of Morgan's decision to go on crusade, and the possible influences on it, see chapter 1, p. 97, of this volume.

[30] *B. Saes.*, p. 149. The terminology used to describe these men is analysed in chapter 1, p. 19, of this volume.

who went on crusade during the reign of Henry I after being struck blind for sleeping in the church of Llanafan with his hunting dogs.[31] The *Chartulary of the Priory of St Peter at Sele* states that Philip de Braose, lord of Builth and Radnor, went to Jerusalem, although the date of his journey is unknown.[32] Salzman believed that he went in 1096, and Remfry in 1128, probably in the same contingent as Morgan ap Cadwgan.[33] The charter mentions the agreement of Philip's son William, who must have been old enough to become involved in the matter of grants, suggesting that Remfry's dating is more likely. Furthermore, since Orderic Vitalis describes Philip as a supporter of William Rufus against Robert Curthose in 1096, it seems more likely that he went in *c.*1128: if Robert FitzHamon would not have gone on the First Crusade because he supported William over Robert, it seems unlikely that Philip de Braose would have gone in 1096. Philip de Braose, therefore, appears to have participated in the crusading activity of 1128, in which Morgan ap Cadwgan also took part.

The period after the Second Crusade furnishes the names of more crusaders. Walter of Hereford and Gilbert de Lacy, lord of Ludlow, both fought in the Holy Land during these years.[34] Walter presumably died there, because around 1160 his manor of Awre in the Forest of Dean fell to the crown.[35] The most notable crusader from this time was William Marshal, tutor to the Young Henry; he fulfilled Henry's vow to go on crusade in 1183 after vowing to do so at his protégé's deathbed.[36] At the time of his crusade to the Holy Land,

[31] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 16–17; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 77–8.

[32] *The Chartulary of the Priory of St Peter at Sele*, ed. L. F. Salzman (Cambridge, 1923), p. 3.

[33] Ibid., p. xii; Paul Martin Remfry, *Radnor Castle, 1066 to 1282* (Worcester, 1994), p. 4.

[34] George Edward Cockayne (ed.), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, vol. 1 (London, 1910), p. 21; W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 188–9; P.R.O., C 115–K2/6683, reproduced in David Wales, 'Notes and documents: a letter from the Holy Land', *EHR*, 72 (1957), 662–5.

[35] Nicholas Martin Herbert (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Gloucester*, vol. 5 (Oxford, 1996), p. 24; *Pipe Roll, Henry II, Vol. 4: 1160–1161* (London, 1888), p. 22.

[36] *History of William Marshal*, vol. 1, ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory and D.

William was not earl of Pembroke but 'a poor young knight / without as yet a single strip of land to my name', and so he was free of responsibility for maintaining lordship in the Marches. [37] He was not in the same position when Richard left for crusade. Aside from the fact that the king appointed him one of the five members of the regency council which was to rule in his absence, in 1189 William had been made earl of Chepstow in right of his new wife, and had the responsibilities of these lands with which to contend. It could be argued that William's marriage to Isabella, daughter of the earl of Pembroke, was in part a result of the Third Crusade; Richard I, trying to ensure the safety of his kingdom while absent on crusade, 'secured the loyalty' of William by arranging this lucrative match.[38] Thus, most participants between the First and Third Crusades went independently as part of smaller crusading contingents, with the recruitment efforts for the Second Crusade going largely unnoticed in Wales and the March.

The largest number of marcher and (if Gerald of Wales is to be believed) Welsh crusaders to go to the East during the twelfth century went at the time of the Third Crusade. [39] The only Welshman named as a crusader at this time is Aeddan ab Aeddan, 'a powerful chieftain of Gwent', although since he is only to be found in the later *Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff*, he seems an unlikely recruit.[40] The rise in the number of participants at this time was a result of several factors. Not only was Richard I the first English king to lead a crusade force, but active steps were also taken to recruit men from Wales and the March. Although Archbishop Baldwin's preaching tour was essentially a tour of Wales, he also included the border towns of Chester, Whitchurch, Oswestry, Shrewsbury, Bromfield, Ludlow, Leominster and Hereford.[41] Baldwin's presence in

Crouch (Anglo-Norman Text Society, London, 2002), p. 351, ll.6896–905; p. 371, ll.7275–80.

[37] Ibid., pp. 357–9, ll.7030–1.

[38] David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: The Penguin History of Britain, 1066–1284* (London, 2004), p. 246.

[39] According to Gerald, 3,000 men took the Cross as a result of the 1188 preaching tour. *Itin. Kam.*, p. 147; Trans. Thorpe, p. 204.

[40] *Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff of Thomastown, County Tipperary, England* (privately printed, n.d.), p. 18.

[41] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 139–47; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 198–205.

these towns would naturally have spread the message of the crusade, whether the marcher lords who eventually took the Cross heard him preach or not. Richard had also gone to some lengths to secure peace before he left on crusade, and succeeded in obtaining a promise of peace from 'the petty kings of the Welsh', so the Marches that bordered Welsh lands in north and mid-Wales were, at least in theory, safe from attack.[42] In some respects, these efforts, and the ties that drew the men of the March together, may have proved decisive as, although Richard was their king in 1190, in the years before his accession he was based primarily in France, where his adherents were Poitevins, not Englishmen. In this respect, he would not be taking men from the March because they had been in his service for several years already.[43]

The contingents that left for the East in the summer of 1190 included a number of minor marcher landholders.[44] Bartholomew Mortimer, Gilbert Talbot, John FitzLucas, William Malet and William Martel are all named in either Ambroise, the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* or the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* as being in the Holy Land with Richard I.[45] According to Howden, John de Lacy, constable of Chester, died outside Tyre; Ralph of Arden, sheriff of Hereford from 1185 to 1189, also went, probably accompanying his father-in-law Ranulf de Glanville.[46] Davies identified Bartholomew Mortimer as a leader of the Welsh contingent on crusade, and Duncumb believed that he was accompanied by Roger de Lacy (of Herefordshire).[47] The Welsh archers mentioned

[42] *Chronicon Richardi Divisensis*, p. 7.

[43] Ralph V. Turner, 'The households of the sons of Henry II', in *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154–1206): Actes de Colloque tenu à Thouars du 30 avril au 2 mai 1999* (Poitiers, 2000), p. 57.

[44] The Annals of Dieulacres abbey erroneously claim that Ranulf accompanied Richard I on crusade and was captured with him by the duke of Austria. Geoffrey Barraclough, 'The Annals of Dieulacres abbey', *Cheshire Sheaf*, 52 (1957), 21.

[45] Ambroise, *History of the Holy War*, I, p. 184, l.11388; p. 76, l.4713; p. 93, l.5782; *Itin. Per.*, pp. 141, 149; *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, I, pp. 46, 99.

[46] *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I. A.D. 1169–1192; known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (London, 1867), II, p. 148; Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 88; Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades, 1150–1220*, p. 120.

[47] Davies, *General History of the County of Radnor*, p. 39; John Dumcumb, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (Merton, 1996), p. 74.

outside Tyre in the *Itinerarium*, however, appear before the contingent led by Richard I arrived in the Holy Land, so it seems unlikely that Bartholomew was indeed responsible for leading all of the Welsh, though it is possible that some travelled in his retinue.[48] Although it is not possible to determine in what way Bartholomew was related to the Mortimers of the March, the family pedigrees of this family are often confused, and it is possible that he was a son of Hugh (I) Mortimer (died *c.*1149). Another possibility is that this Bartholomew was the same man who became the second husband of Lucy de Clifford of Llandovery, in about 1195, as named in the Golden Grove Book of Pedigrees.[49] Lucy's sister was the 'Fair Rosamond' who was mistress to Henry II, suggesting that Lucy and her future husband may have mixed with the court circle that later accompanied Richard I on crusade, taking Bartholomew with them.[50] Bartholomew was probably a younger son who was free to embark on crusade in 1189; the 'old vendetta' which had been raging between the Mortimers of Wigmore and the Welsh since the 1170s, the death of Henry II and the resumption of hostilities by the Lord Rhys probably made it impossible for other family members to consider going to the East.[51] The other crusaders mentioned in Ambroise and the *Itinerarium*, Gilbert Talbot, John FitzLucas, William Martel and William Malet, are also hard to trace, although it is possible that they came from the Welsh March. Round believed that Gilbert Talbot came from Linton in Herefordshire, John FitzLucas perhaps from Gloucestershire, where a man of that name held a fief in 1187, and that William Martel 'was at this time a west-country baron, as was William Malet'.[52]

[48] *Itin. Per.*, pp. 111–12. For an account of the Welsh archer, see chapter 2, p. 84, of this volume.

[49] Unauthentic charters and a pedigree suggesting that three generations of the Mortimers survived over a 190-year period serve to confuse the genealogy. See Charles Hopkinson and Martin Speight, *The Mortimers, Lords of the March* (Logaston, 2002), p. 210, n.1; GB 0211 CAWDOR, 'Advenae of Brecon', p. 91.

[50] W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 2000), p. 119.

[51] J. J. Crump, 'The Mortimer family and the making of the March', in Michael Prestwich, R. H. Britnell and Robin Frame (eds), *Thirteenth Century England VI: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1995* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 118.

[52] Horace Round, 'Some English crusaders of Richard I', *EHR*, 18 (1903), 476, 471, 481.

Some of those who acquitted themselves in the king's service came from the marcher lands that, until recently, had been part of *Pura Wallia*. Sir John Rudd, captain of Ystrad Meurig castle, was allegedly 'slain in Austria after the taking of King Richard Coeur de lion'; this claim is found in the Golden Grove Book of Pedigrees and must be treated with caution. [53] It is interesting to note, however, that in 1193, Ystrad Meurig was 'manfully breached' by Maelgwn ap Rhys, perhaps because the captain was absent.[54] The Welsh pedigrees are full of references to Aron ap Rhys ap Bledri of Cilsant in Carmarthenshire, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.[55] A pedigree of the family of Dolau Cothi, completed by Sir Thomas Phillipps's librarian, also states that Ieuan Ddu ap Gwilym of Grosmont castle 'took the Cross at the hands of Archbishop Baldwin', although he is not named in Gerald's *Itinerarium*.[56] The *Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff* states that Aeddan ab Aeddan took the Cross from Baldwin, and Bartrum's *Genealogies* identify him as lord of Grosmont.[57] At the time Grosmont was in the hands of the English crown; Henry II felt its security was of sufficient import to have spent £14 6*s*. 8*d*. on fortifying it in March 1185.[58] The number of men in positions of responsibility, at least in terms of defence, who went from these lands is probably a reflection of the peace that was established in these areas. Although the Lord Rhys had resumed hostilities, the castles he attacked during the period of the Third Crusade were confined to south-west Wales (St Clears, Laugharne, Llanstephan, Kidwelly, Nevern, Llawhaden) and did not affect the holdings of the crusaders.[59]

Another small group of crusaders from Shropshire highlights both the problems of identifying crusaders in isolation

[53] GB 0211 CAWDOR, 'Advenae of Brecon', p. 197.

[54] *BT. Pen.*, p. 75.

[55] Peniarth MS 156, printed as 'Genealogies of Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire families', *West Wales Historical Records*, 1 (1910–11), 10, 31, 72, 90.

[56] Rowland, *Pedigree of the Ancient Family of Dolau Cothi*, p. 12.

[57] *Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff*, p. 18; Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies*, III, p. 469.

[58] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-Second Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second: A.D. 1185–1186* (London, 1914), p. 25.

[59] *BT. Pen.*, pp. 73–5.

and the way in which, by looking at groups of crusaders, their participation can be determined. Janet Meisel believes that a Robert Corbet went on crusade from the March during the Third Crusade. The evidence for this comes from what she admits is a 'notoriously unreliable' document, which places him at Acre in 1191.[60] Meisel believes that, based on the ages of the respective men, the manuscript refers to Robert Corbet senior of Caus, rather than his son and namesake. He was absent from England in 1190, and although Meisel concedes that this could be because he was visiting his landholdings on the continent, she concludes that it is 'entirely possible that Robert did in fact take the cross and go on crusade'.[61] The same document also names a John le Strange, who was at the time of the Third Crusade lord of the manor of Ruyton of the Eleven Towns in Shropshire.[62] He, too, is absent from the records for the period of the crusade; the last reference to him, before he reappears in April 1194 with Richard I at Portsmouth, is as a witness to a charter by Richard I confirming Stiperstones Forest to Robert Corbet in 1190.[63] The discovery of a reliquary in the garden of a cottage near Ruyton church in 1989 that depicts scenes from the life of St Thecla of Iconium strongly suggests that John le Strange went on crusade.[64] John knew Robert Corbet, and they were

[60] Janet Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf, and FitzWarin Families, 1066–1272* (London, 1980), p. 10; Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1120, fo. 174r. This document is a copy, made in the mid-sixteenth century, of a roll of over 300 knights who were said to have been with Richard I at Acre. The original roll was in the keeping of a Mr FitzWilliams of Sprotbrugh (Yorks.) and is now lost. Many of those named on the roll cannot be traced. Of those who can, several are known to have participated in the Third Crusade (William de Say, Geoffrey de Lucy, Robert de Quincy, William de Albini). The manuscript needs further research to establish its reliability, and although it should be treated with caution until such a study is completed, it seems that it can be taken to corroborate other evidence.

[61] Hugh Pantulf paid a fine on his behalf in that year. Meisel, *Barons*, p. 10.

[62] MS Ashmole 1120, fo. 174r.

[63] William Page, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Shropshire: Volume 1* (London, 1908), p. 486; R. Lloyd Kenyon, 'Manor of Ruyton of the Eleven Towns', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, First Series, 1 (1878), 37.

[64] The reliquary is housed in the Medieval Collection of Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery (Rowley's House); Eyton, *Antiquities*, X, p. 113. The reliquary was identified by Dr Stephen Hill (Warwick University). Anon., 'West Midlands archaeology in 1991', *Midlands Archaeology*, 34 (1991), 60–1.

both with the king before his departure on crusade; it therefore seems likely that they travelled together.

The relationship with Robert Corbet, one of his neighbours in the March, is a further clue to his participation. Robert was married to Emma Pantulf, daughter of his neighbour Hugh Pantulf. Hugh was at Geddington in 1188 when so many of the nobility took the Cross, and Eyton has suggested that he went on crusade and was with Richard at Acre. Meisel finds this highly unlikely because he paid a fine for Robert in 1190. Although it seems unlikely that Hugh Pantulf did go, the proximity in age and geography and the known relationship between Robert and Hugh suggest that both men intended to undertake the crusade, but that only Robert was able to go. It is possible that Hugh decided to remain in Shropshire to try to rectify the financial disaster that had been brewing during his time as sheriff: he apparently allowed livestock to be stolen from the royal manors, thereby incurring hundreds of pounds of losses.[65] Even though he was still on good terms with the king on the eve of the crusade, it would not be at all surprising to find that Richard had suggested he stay in England in order to rectify the situation.

A cross-legged effigy in Stackpole church is said to depict Sir Elidir de Stackpole, who allegedly went on the Third Crusade with King Richard. 'Pevsner' dated the effigy to the mid-fourteenth century.[66] The myth persists that a cross-legged effigy depicts a crusader, but this was not the case; several of England's most famous crusaders, such as Robert Curthose and William Marshal, were not depicted with crossed legs, while others, such as William's son and namesake, William Marshal the Younger, were shown with crossed legs although they had not been on crusade. Crossley warned: 'After 1240 the recumbent attitude was frankly adopted and knights were carved with the legs crossed, partly

[65] Although Hugh's incompetence was particularly notable in contrast to that of his successors in Shropshire, it was not uncommon for royal officials to mismanage their affairs. From 1207 to 1212 King John's newly appointed sheriffs owed an average of £1,400 to the exchequer in addition to their regular dues. Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, p. 272.

[66] Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach and Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire* (Yale, 2004), p. 458.

to strengthen the figure at its weakest place, and to show ease of position.'[67] This is not, however, to say that the cross-legged effigies from Wales and the March believed to be crusaders were not so, because each alleged crusader should be considered in conjunction with external evidence to establish the validity of such a claim.

Gerald of Wales refers to an 'Elidyr' de Stackpole from the area around Pembroke who was visited by the devil, but he says nothing about his participation in the crusade.[68] The identification of Elidir de Stackpole with crusading, if based largely on his cross-legged posture, may be the result of confusion with another Elidir. Rowland identifies the son of Elidir ap Rhys, lord of Iscennen, as 'Sir Elydr Ddu or Lenard Ddu, who took the Cross and accompanied Richard Coeur de Lion in his crusade against the Saracens, and became Knight of the Sepulchre'.[69] The centre of the commote of Iscennen was Carreg Cennen, near Llandeilo. Local legend says that Elidir Ddu, lord of Kidwelly, went on the Third Crusade with his son Rhys; their departure is remembered because, in Elidir's absence, his daughter Nest fell in love with a local lord against her father's wishes and, grief-stricken after the young man's murder by a rival for her hand, threw herself in the River Gwendraeth.[70] The story is clearly fanciful – the castle and lordship of Kidwelly were owned by Roger of Salisbury and then by Maurice de Londres; at the time of the Third Crusade they were in Welsh hands as, in 1190, Lord Rhys was busying himself rebuilding the castle.[71]

[67] Fred H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments, 1150–1550* (London, 1921), p. 177.

[68] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 96–7; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 154–5.

[69] Rowland, *Pedigree of the Ancient Family of Dolau Cothi*, p. 9; NLW, Peniarth MS 156 also describes him as: 'S^r Elidyr or Leonard Ddu Kt. Of the Sepulchre the first who hath assumed the name fitz Urien, M. Cecill D. to Syssillt Ld of Cantref Selyf.' 'Genealogies', p. 64.

[70] Eric Hughes, *Kidwelly: A History, Legends, Folklore and Traditions* (Kidwelly, 1999), pp. 111–12.

[71] *BT. RBH.*, p. 173. There are two other possible crusaders from the Welsh March at this time, although, once again, neither is mentioned in the crusade sources. Based on the charge of crosses on armorial bearings of the de Knill of Herefordshire, the Walsham family, their descendants and successors, claimed that John de Knill had gone to the Holy Land with Richard I. The Rodd family makes the same claim for Hugh de Rode because of a long pointed stalk on their arms, supposedly added after Hugh was knighted for services at the battle of Ascalon (1191).

The majority of crusade participants in the twelfth century thus went at the time of the Third Crusade. Although a contingent of Welshmen went on the First Crusade, they did so in the service of a Frenchman, perhaps because local leaders in south Wales were embroiled in the struggle for the control of land in Glamorgan. What their involvement demonstrates is that Welsh participants before 1200 came predominantly from south Wales or the southern March. There were no crusaders from Gwynedd, but several from Deheubarth and Glamorgan. Marcher participants came from Pembrokeshire, Herefordshire and Shropshire, but only one, John de Lacy, was recorded from Cheshire in the twelfth century. The areas conquered by the Anglo-Normans appear to have participated more fully in the First and Third Crusades, the latter perhaps because of the efforts of the crusade recruitment tour of 1188.

The Fifth Crusade had a large contingent of English crusaders, with many of the leading figures evidently coming from the March. The greater amount of space devoted to the Fifth Crusade in the Welsh chronicles suggests that this crusade had more participants from the March and Wales, since the scribes were better informed on events in the East during this time than during any other campaign. The most important figure from the March was Ranulf, earl of Chester, who had taken the Cross with King John in March 1215. Ranulf's biographer claims that there is no reason to think the earl's motives 'were in fact anything other then religious',[72] but Tyerman disagrees. In 1219, the earl's bailiff told justices in Yorkshire that his master was away 'in the king's service in the land of Jerusalem'.[73] Tyerman interprets

A John de Kennell held a knight's fee of Walter de Lacy (together with Walter of Bodenham and Matilda de Tregoz) in 1242. If the family was settled in the area in the 1180s, they may have been linked with the Lacy family, as they were in the 1240s. If so, it is possible that John de Knill went as part of a group with Roger de Lacy, as they were close neighbours. Unfortunately, Lord Rennell does not give any source for his claims, and so the assertion that Hugh de Rode went on the Third Crusade remains doubtful. See Lord Rennell of Rodd, *Valley on the March: A History of a Group of Manors on the Herefordshire March of Wales* (London, 1958), pp. 133–4; *Liber Feodorum: Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill, Part II, 1242–1293* (London, 1923), pp. 802, 817.

[72] Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester*, p. 79.

[73] 'Extracts from a Yorkshire assize roll, 3 Henry III, 1219', ed. W. T. Lancaster, *Miscellanea*, 1, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, 61 (1920), 179.

this as suggesting that Ranulf was acting on behalf of Henry III (or the late King John) in going to the East, fulfilling a royal vow by proxy.[74] The earl's bailiff was probably right but was also oversimplifying matters, since Ranulf's motives were probably a mixture of piety, duty and crusade enthusiasm.

Among those who travelled with the earl were his constable, John of Lacy, and Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, who died on crusade.[75] Philip de Albini, governor of Ludlow, was in Egypt in 1221, and went on crusade again in 1235, this time to the Holy Land, where he died in 1236.[76] Men of such standing would have taken a substantial number of followers with them, increasing the number of men who were absent from Cheshire and Herefordshire; Ranulf of Chester was allegedly accompanied by one hundred knights.[77] According to Röhricht's history of the Fifth Crusade, the counts of Gloucester and Hereford also went on crusade, the latter 'in itinere transmarino moritur'.[78] The individual named as the 'count' of Hereford was Enjuger de Bohun, presumably of the same family as Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, although Schieldschlag concluded that the majority of the former's lands were held in Sussex.[79] John de la More from Shropshire also went on the Fifth Crusade and died in the Holy Land in 1221 or 1222.[80]

[74] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 97–8.

[75] For Ranulf, see *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. Thomas Stapleton (London, 1849), p. 7; for John of Lacy, see *Chronica Buriensis, 1212–1301: The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212–1301*, ed. Antonia Gransden (London, 1964), p. 7; for Roger of Wendover, *Rogeri de Wendover Liber qui dicitur Flores historiarum: The Flowers of History by Roger of Wendover*, ed. Henry Howlett, 3 vols (London, 1886–9), II, p. 135; for Henry de Bohun, see Radulphi de Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London, 1875), p. 188.

[76] Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, p. 373.

[77] 'L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur', in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, II (Paris, 1859), p. 342.

[78] Röhricht, *Studien Zur Geschichte*, pp. 89, 101.

[79] Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, was preceded by his father Humphrey IV. The only persons called Enjuger de Bohun named in the sources of this period are an Enjuger de Bohun who had Ford manor in Sussex restored to him in 1212 (after having quitclaimed it in 1199) (*Curia Regis Rolls, Vol. VI: 11–14 John* (London, 1932), pp. 397–9); and an Enjuger de Bohun who paid a fine of 50 marks in 1216. *Rotuli de oblatís et fínibus in Turri londinensi asservati, tempore regís Johannis* (London, 1835), p. 605; Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades, 1150–1220*, p. 138.

[80] *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, Being the Rolls and Pleas and Assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Shropshire 1221, 1222*, ed. Doris Mary Stenton (London, 1940), p. 521.

Röhricht also names the 'count' of Caerleon as one of the participants in the Fifth Crusade, arriving at Damietta in 1218.[81] At this time, the right to control Caerleon was being disputed by William Marshal, who had assaulted the town in 1217, and by Morgan ap Hywel.[82] If the right of ownership was in dispute, the title of Count of Caerleon could refer to either man, but since William Marshal did not take part in the Fifth Crusade, it must refer to the Welsh claimant, Morgan ap Hywel. In March 1218, Morgan lost Caerleon at a council in Worcester, but in 1220 Morgan was still disputing the inheritance of Caerleon, demonstrating that matters had not been resolved by 1218.[83] Although the delay between the council in March 1218 and Morgan's appearance in the Curia Regis Rolls could have been because of his absence abroad, it seems unlikely that Morgan would have gone to the East during this period. In light of this, it would appear that Röhricht was misinformed. There is however another possibility, if it can be accepted that Röhricht confused the date of the count's crusade. In 1227, Morgan ap Hywel, after years of conflict over Caerleon, suddenly quitclaimed his right to William Marshal the younger and then disappeared from the records until 1231, when he was retained by the king's household in order to fight.[84] His seemingly sudden decision to quitclaim his dispute over his right to Caerleon, and his absence from the records, suggests that he could have been in the East participating in the final wave of the Fifth Crusade.

The Fifth Crusade is notable for the number of barons who participated: the earls of Chester and Hereford went to Egypt, as did the constable of Chester. Once again, relationships in the March were a key to crusade participation. Significant levels of involvement were facilitated by good relations between Ranulf of Chester and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth; in previous years the animosity between Cheshire and Gwynedd appears to have prevented men from joining the crusade. In

[81] Röhricht, *Studien Zur Geschichte*, p. 89.

[82] *BT. RBH.*, p. 217.

[83] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 137; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1204–1227*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 2 vols (London, 1833–44), I, p. 436b.

[84] David Crouch, 'The power of place: Caerleon and twelfth-century kingship', paper read at Second Bangor Colloquium on Medieval Wales: Political Culture in Medieval Wales, 13–14 November 2004.

the period up to 1218, Gwynedd and Cheshire were enemies, earl Ranulf building castles at Holywell and Degannwy in 1210, which were then attacked by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.[85] King John attacked and defeated Llywelyn in 1211, with the backing of the earl. However, between 1212 and 1218 Llywelyn's stature in Gwynedd grew, and he was able to take back most of Wales in the campaigns of 1215 and 1217. In 1218, he secured the safety of his eastern border, which R. R. Davies claimed 'presented the most immediate threat to his principality', by finalising a peace with earl Ranulf of Chester.[86] The peace was concluded just one week before the earl left to join the Fifth Crusade, highlighting the fact that cordial relations along the March were necessary for absence on crusade.[87] The improved relations at this time helped to support crusading activity, and in the following two decades several notable men went on crusade.

The crusade of Richard of Cornwall (1240–1) was a relatively small affair in comparison to other thirteenth-century crusades, although its impact was felt in the March, since Richard was, from 1234, lord of Abergavenny. Giles de Clifford intended to go on crusade at this time; the *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* records that he was to have £30 for his 'pilgrimage' to the East.[88] Others who took vows at the time of Richard's recruitment efforts did not travel with the earl: Ralph de Teoni of Painscastle went on crusade in 1239, but as part of the French contingent. On the eve of his departure, he gave three granges to Cwmhir abbey in return for

[85] *BT. RBH.*, p. 189; *B. Saes.*, p. 203, erroneously calls him the earl of Clare.

[86] Davies, *Age*, p. 248; *Annales Cestrienses: or, the Chronicle of the Abbey of S. Werburg at Chester*, ed. Richard Copley Christie (Chester, 1887), p. 50.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Alberic of Trois Fontaines, however, claimed that Richard was accompanied by 800 knights. See 'Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, xxiii (Hanover, 1901), p. 948; Lower unconvincingly argues that the greater English participation was not expected, largely because the English had no tangible links with the Latin empire of Constantinople, which it was hoped the crusade of 1240 would help. Lower, *The Barons' Crusade*, pp. 129–30. Jackson suggests that Richard went to the Holy Land as his brother-in-law's 'accredited representative'. Peter Jackson, 'The crusades of 1239–41 and their aftermath', in G. R. Hawting (ed.), *Muslims, Mongols and Crusaders: An Anthology of Articles Published in The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 2005), p. 233; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Vol. III, 1232–1247* (London, 1906), p. 53; *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, Vol. II, 1240–45* (London, 1918), p. 29.

prayers in perpetuity, and secured the marriage of his son to the daughter of the earl of Hereford.[89] Gilbert Marshal took the Cross at Winchester in 1236, together with John the Scot, earl of Chester, and several other nobles.[90] John died in 1237 while the crusade was still being organised, poisoned, according to Matthew Paris, by his Welsh wife.[91] Gilbert had already been to the Holy Land in 1229, before he became earl of Pembroke, but in 1239–40 his circumstances had changed. In addition to inheriting the earldom, he had fallen out with Henry III; when reaffirming his vow on 12 November 1239, he swore that he would go on crusade if he could be reconciled with the king.[92] His assumption of the Cross in 1236 was a political move that aimed to ally the Marshals with Richard of Cornwall, but Gilbert did not make it to the Holy Land for a second time. In 1236, when he took the Cross, involvement in Richard's crusade plans was of great import; by 1240, when Richard was ready to depart, his wife, Gilbert Marshal's sister Eleanor, was dead and the link between the families was 'receding in significance'.[93] It was no longer imperative that Gilbert go with Richard to the East, and his vow seems to have been forgotten; in any case, he died the following year at a tournament at Hertford.[94]

After the death of John the Scot in 1237 without a male heir, the English Crown annexed the earldom of Chester. The status quo was maintained for a few years, until August 1241, when Henry III used Cheshire as a launch-pad for an attack in north Wales.[95] In the intervening years, one last notable Welshman was able to go on crusade to the Holy Land. Under the year 1240, the *Chronicon de Lanercost* referred to the crusade of Richard of Cornwall, and noted that 'Richard Earl of Cornwall set out towards Jerusalem, and Llywelyn

[89] Lower, *The Barons' Crusade*, p. 144.

[90] Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, pp. 368–9. One of those mentioned is Richard Siward, who at the time of Richard's crusade held lands in Glamorgan, although it appears that he did not go, perhaps due to ill health. David Crouch, 'The last adventure of Richard Siward', *Morgannwg*, 35 (1991), 17, 20.

[91] Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, p. 394.

[92] Ibid., p. 620.

[93] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 103.

[94] Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, IV, pp. 135–6.

[95] B. E. Harris, 'The earldom of Chester 1070–1301', in B. E. Harris (ed.), *Victoria County History: A History of the County of Chester*, II (Oxford, 1979), pp. 1–8, 6.

Prince of Wales'.[96] The majority of the Lanercost chronicle was written during the reign of Edward I, although the work was later extended. A. G. Little suggested that the work covering the period 1201–97 was the work of prior Richard of Durham.[97] The editor of the published chronicle up to 1346 found that the chronicle appeared to be 'an original composition', and that aside from some earlier borrowings from the *Melrose Chronicle*, the chronicle of the thirteenth-century Dominican Martinus Polanus and the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 'no further passages, at least of any extent, can be traced to other sources'.[98] There are numerous allusions to the sources used in the Lanercost chronicle, but since none of those mentioned is the source for Llywelyn's crusade, it seems possible that the author's source was oral. He was well connected and names several of his sources, including the confessor of Queen Margaret of Scotland and the Countess Euphemia of Dunbar.[99] Lanercost also hosted several important visitors, such as Edward I and his wife Eleanor in the autumn of 1280, who could have provided information.[100] The author also demonstrates a measure of interest in both crusading and the events and people of the Holy Land, and is well informed on events in Wales.[101]

[96] 'Eodem anno Ricardus comes Cornubiæ profectus est Hierosolymam, et Leulinus princeps Walliæ.' *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI–MCCCXLVI*, ed. Joseph Stephenson (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 48; BL, Claudius D VIII, fo. 123v. I am grateful to Dr Björn Weiler for pointing out the entry in the *Chronicon*. Dr Weiler, however, states that the crusade participant was Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's uncle, another Llywelyn, though this is clearly a case of mistaken identity. Björn K. U. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire, 1216–1272* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 190.

[97] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. xiii; A. G. Little, 'The authorship of the Lanercost Chronicle', *EHR*, 31 (1916), 273. Although the work was added to, the reference to Llywelyn is not an insertion into the text, but part of the body of the work and in the same hand as the other entries for that period.

[98] Although the Melrose work does contain many of the references to Wales found in the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, such as the marriage of the daughter of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1230 to the earl of Fife, it does not cite Llywelyn as a crusade participant; in fact, the Melrose chronicle does not refer to Richard of Cornwall's crusade at all. *The Chronicle of Melrose: From the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX in the British Museum: A Complete and Full-size Facsimile in Collotype*, ed. Alan Orr Anderson, Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson and William Croft Dickinson (London 1936), pp. 80, 87; *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. xiv, 40.

[99] Ibid., p. 54; Little, 'The authorship of the Lanercost Chronicle', 274–5.

[100] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 105.

[101] Ibid., pp. 2, 9, 14, 27, 29, 53, 55, 82, 66, 90, 138–40, and 40, 52, 100, 103, 111–12, 113, 120, 157, 181.

The identification of Llywelyn, prince of Wales, in the year 1240 would immediately suggest Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. Llywelyn had, however, suffered a stroke in 1237, and was probably in no condition to contemplate a long and arduous journey like a crusade; furthermore, Llywelyn died on 11 April 1240, but Richard did not depart until 10 June.[102] A more likely possibility is that the *Chronicon de Lanercost* was referring to his grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd.[103] The internal evidence suggests that this was the case. In the entry for 1228, the author describes Llywelyn ap Iorwerth as 'lord of Wales', whereas in the entries for 1279 and 1283, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd is called 'prince of Wales'.[104] From 1258, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd had been using the title 'prince of Wales', which he was still using in 1277.[105] At the time the *Chronicon* was written, this was the title by which Llywelyn ap Gruffydd would have been identified, and it is clear from the *Chronicon* that the author distinguished between the titular usage of grandfather and grandson. Other Welshmen named in the text, such as Dafydd ap Gruffydd and Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, are usually described in terms of their relationship with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth or Llywelyn ap Gruffydd; in the light of this it seems highly unlikely that the author would have been using the title 'prince of Wales' if he had been referring to anyone but Llywelyn ap Gruffydd.[106]

Llywelyn's date of birth is not known, but in 1240 it is likely that he was in his late teens, and by the standards of the time an adult, more than suited to go on crusade. On 12 August 1241, Llywelyn's mother, Senana, offered Henry III her younger sons, Dafydd and Rhodri, as hostages for the release of her husband and her eldest son, Owain.[107] Llywelyn ap Gruffudd is not referred to in the agreement. J. Beverley Smith noted, 'there is no ready explanation why

[102] Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, pp. 4, 44, 385; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 41.

[103] For the events of Llywelyn's life in the years around 1240, see J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales* (Cardiff, 1998), pp. 37–47.

[104] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 40, 103, 111.

[105] Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp. 109–10, 110 n.73, 443.

[106] For Dafydd and Gruffydd, see *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 52, 103, 111, 113; for Madoc, ibid., p. 157.

[107] *AWR*, p. 452.

his mother took no account of him', and suggests that the reason Llywelyn was not offered as a hostage was that 'he, like Owain, had already reached manhood'.[108] Although Llywelyn was undoubtedly too old to be controlled in this manner by his mother, the reference in the *Chronicon de Lanercost* suggests that the reason why Llywelyn was not included in the negotiations of 1241 was that he was either still on, or had only just returned from, the crusade.

The timing of the events surrounding the crusade, and Llywelyn's appearance in the records, strongly suggest that this was the case. A month before Richard of Cornwall left on crusade, he acted as *dictator* for an agreement made with Llywelyn's uncle, Dafydd ap Llywelyn, at Gloucester.[109] It is possible that Llywelyn joined his retinue at this point. The next reference to Llywelyn appears in a quitclaim of August 1241, issued at about the same time as the agreement his mother made with Henry III.[110] Llywelyn appears to have made this quitclaim shortly after his return from crusade. Richard of Cornwall and his retinue had reached Trapani on Sicily by 1 July 1241, where they stayed for several months as a guest of his brother-in-law, Emperor Frederick II; Richard did not return to London until January 1242.[111] It is possible that Llywelyn did not stay with Richard, but continued his journey home and arrived in Wales in August 1241, presumably shortly before he agreed to the quitclaim. The fact that it is linked to six other charters from the summer of 1241 suggests that Llywelyn quitclaimed the lands as part of his first official business after his return from crusade.

Why Llywelyn chose to go on crusade in 1240 is another matter; so, too, is the reason for his absence from the Welsh chronicles. His involvement may have stemmed from several factors. His uncle, John the Scot, had vowed to go on crusade in 1236, but died before he could do so; Llywelyn may have been acting in his stead. It may also have been politically expedient for him to go, for his uncle Dafydd had just come to power in Gwynedd and was in conflict with Llywelyn's

[108] Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp. 35, 39.
[109] *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry III, 1237–1242* (London 1911), pp. 240–1.
[110] *AWR*, p. 490.
[111] *Annales Cestrienses*, p. 63.

father and elder brother. It may also have suited Henry III to have Llywelyn removed for a time from Wales while he dealt with his uncle and father. As regards the relationship between Cheshire and Gwynedd, although John the Scot's death in 1237 without heirs led to the annexation of the earldom by Henry III, in 1240 the fate of Cheshire was still disputed, and John de Lacy was custodian of the county. Peace was in fact maintained until the time of Llywelyn's return in August 1241.[112]

The absence of any reference to his crusade participation is not surprising, and should not be regarded as evidence that the *Chronicon de Lanercost* was mistaken; it is well informed on other events relating to both Wales and the crusades. The *Bruts* mention only one Welsh crusader by name, even though Welsh crusade participation had been steady since the time of the First Crusade. Richard of Cornwall's crusade does not even warrant a mention in the chronicles, and at the time Llywelyn went on crusade he was not as important a figure in Anglo-Welsh history as he was to become. His father and brother were still contesting Dafydd ap Llywelyn's right to the succession, and Dafydd was himself a married man who could yet beget heirs. He may have been married for some years by 1240 without having done so, but it was still enough of a possibility for the fate of Gwynedd to hang on his offspring: in 1241, Dafydd agreed to leave Gwynedd to the English king if he did not produce an heir by his wife, an agreement which would have been startling if he did not think that fathering an heir was a possibility.[113]

Richard of Cornwall's crusade was not the only time when crusaders from the March failed to make the journey. Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, was the son of Henry de Bohun, who had died whilst on the Fifth Crusade, and the uterine brother-in-law of Richard of Cornwall.[114] He prepared to go on crusade in 1250, and although there

[112] Richard Eales, 'Henry III and the end of the Norman earldom of Chester', *TCE*, vol. 1 (1985), 109, 110.

[113] Gwyn A. Williams, 'The succession to Gwynedd, 1238–47', *BBCS*, (1964), 403–4.

[114] Humphrey de Bohun married Matilda (or Maud) de Lusignan, daughter of Isabella of Angoulême, widow of King John, by her second husband, Hugh X de Lusignan, count of La Marche.

was initial enthusiasm for the idea, neither Humphrey de Bohun nor his companions departed for the Holy Land. Henry III wanted all crusaders to sail in his contingent, and gained papal backing for this, but Humphrey and his fellow crusaders intended to leave before the king. Differing departure dates effectively moved the destination of the crusade from the Holy Land to Sicily, which had not been the aim of the original group of crusaders. Henry III imposed a number of restrictive sanctions which meant that these men were unable to depart, and in the end the crusade came to nothing.[115]

The last major crusade of the thirteenth century, that of Louis IX in 1270–2, was also the one that involved the greatest number of marcher lords.[116] This was largely because the Lord Edward, who led the English contingent, held the earldom of Chester and other lands along the Welsh border, including Montgomery and Builth, and also Cardigan and Carmarthen, and many of the men from these areas were in his personal service. James de Audley was Edward's justice of Chester, and Jordan de Pyvelsdon the former sheriff.[117] Others were royal servants of either Henry III or the Lord Edward.[118] Rhys Chwith of Llanarchaeron allegedly went as squire to Edward, though he does not appear in contemporary governmental records of those financed by the crown.[119] The network of alliances and lordship links in the Welsh borderland involved others. Henry de Burghill, John de Baskerville and Urian de Sancto Petro had links to other men who took the Cross – Roger de Clifford, James de Audley and Hamo Le Strange respectively – and no doubt assumed the vow out of obligation to these men, who in turn took the Cross to

[115] Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusades*, pp. 91–2.

[116] For a full analysis of the Crusade of 1270–2 and those who participated, see ibid., pp. 113–53.

[117] Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusades*, p. 125.

[118] Simon Lloyd, 'The Lord Edward's Crusade, 1270–2: its setting and significance', in John Gillingham and J. C. Holt (eds), *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 1984), p. 128.

[119] S. R. Meyrick, *The History of Cardiganshire* (1907; repr. Rhayader, 2000), p. 356, n.II; Ernest Richmond Horsfall-Turner, *Walks and Wanderings in County Cardigan: being a descriptive sketch of its picturesque, historic, antiquarian, romantic and traditional features* (Bingley, 1902), p. 110.

support Edward or Edmund.[120] Pennant also believed that Sir Robert Pounderling, constable of Dyserth castle from 1241 to 1263, went on crusade at this time, although as his conclusion appears to be based entirely upon a cross-legged effigy in Tremeirchion church, Denbighshire, it seems unlikely that this was the case, and no supporting evidence exists for his involvement.[121] Leland, in his *Itinerary*, mentioned that 'Theodore knocked out Syr Robert Mounderlinge . . . conestable of Dissart's Castelle's eyes', but says nothing of a crusade.[122]

Simon Lloyd believes that the reason for the large number of men who went to the East, aside from Edward's leadership, was that, in the years following the treaty of Montgomery (1267) and the battle of Evesham (1265), there 'was little prospect of campaigning in England and the settlement with Llywelyn . . . closed for the time being any opportunities for military glory against the Marchers' traditional foe'.[123] The events of 1268–9 may well have had an impact of some kind on the decision to crusade, since Ottobuono's crusade proposal put before the parliament at Bury St Edmund's in February 1267 had met with a lukewarm reception.[124] Davies suggests that the marcher lords were in no position to turn

[120] *Cal. Pat. R., 1266–1272*, p. 440. These men had links with Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, Shropshire and Herefordshire, and Shropshire and Cheshire, respectively. James de Audley did not embark on crusade, as he was appointed Edward's justiciar for Ireland in the summer of 1272; there, he died of a broken neck. Eyton, *Antiquities*, VII, pp. 187–8. The three men had links with Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire, and Shropshire, respectively.

[121] Kenelm Digby Beste, 'Recent excavations at Siamber Wen, near Dyserth, Flintshire', *Arch. Camb.* (1911), 69. D. R. Thomas wrongly dates his constableship to the twelfth century, before Dyserth was built. D. R. Thomas, *History of the Diocese of St Asaph, General, Cathedral and Parochial*, 3 vols (London, 1908), I, p. 423. W. J. Hemp dates it to the time of Edward II: W. J. Hemp, 'Miscellanea', *Arch. Camb.* (1942), 114; Thomas Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, ed. John Rhys, 3 vols (Caernarfon, 1883), II, p. 134.

[122] John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535–1543*, ed. Lucy Tomalin Smith, 5 vols (London, 1964), IV, p. 84. Peter Lord with John Morgan-Guy, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003), p. 124, n.73. An effigy in the church of Llanarmon-yn-Iâl has been identified as that of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ap Ynyr, brother of the bishop of St Asaph, and allegedly a crusader, although there is no evidence that this is the case. Stephen W. Williams, 'Some monumental effigies in Wales', *Arch. Camb.* (1890), 184.

[123] Lloyd, 'The Lord Edward's Crusade', 123–4.

[124] Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 67.

their attention to the Welsh border at the time; they had effectively given up trying to regain lost Welsh lands, having exhausted themselves in civil war in England.[125] Simon Lloyd has, however, oversimplified the impact of the treaty of Montgomery. While the end of the civil war might have freed the nobility to go abroad, the outcome of the treaty of 1267 was far from decisive. The terms of Montgomery were such that, rather than securing the Welsh border for the marcher lords, they 'invited further trouble', leaving the lands of mid and south Wales open to aggression.[126] Although the lands that Edward held were protected, those of Maelienydd, Cefnllys, Elfael, Clun, Caus and Glamorgan were not. Only a year before the treaty was signed the garrison of Caus castle refused to go as far as London, because they feared their lands would be attacked.[127] There was no reason to think that this treaty would be any more effective than earlier treaties.

The treaty of Montgomery therefore left several areas in dispute, leaving the way open for conflict between the marcher lords and the Welsh. It is perhaps for this reason that Edward and Edmund were not accompanied by any major barons from the March. In 1270, Llywelyn had already threatened to ignore the treaty because it was not being adhered to by the English. Indeed, Humphrey de Bohun, heir to the earldom of Hereford, whose great-grandfather had died whilst in the East in 1220, was busy attacking the lordship of Brecon at the time his contemporaries were preparing to leave with the Lord Edward.[128] Roger Mortimer acted similarly in Maelienydd, where he rebuilt Cefnllys castle.[129] He, too, came from a family with a history of crusade participation. It is possible that these men did not join Edward's crusade because of problems on the Welsh frontier. Where others saw the treaty of Montgomery as providing a peace that would allow them to crusade, these men appreciated that the treaty was inherently flawed, and that in practice it

[125] Davies, *Age*, p. 314.

[126] David Stephenson, 'Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and the struggle for the principality of Wales, 1258–1282', *Trans. Cymm.* (1983), 43.

[127] Frederick C. Suppe, *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches, Shropshire 1066–1300* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 119.

[128] Davies, *Age*, p. 322.

[129] Ibid., p. 322.

offered them no real protection from Llywelyn's advances. In any case, many of the marcher lords may not have trusted Llywelyn, agreeing with Matthew Paris's assessment that 'The faith of the Welsh is a want of faith . . . and such persons are never to be trusted'.[130]

Gilbert de Clare was also affected by the difficulty of his relationship with the Lord Edward; Richard of Cornwall, taking on the role of peacemaker, hoped that the crusade might in fact be a way of ending the animosity between them.[131] In 1270, Richard sought to arbitrate between the two men, but his ideas were heavily loaded in favour of his nephew, Edward, and there was little motivation for Gilbert to accede to Richard's requests. He was offered 8,000 marks if he went on crusade in cooperation with Edward, but in return he had to give the manors and appurtenances of Tonbridge and Hanley to Richard as surety for his good behaviour. [132] In addition, Gilbert was still calling for reparation for the costs he had incurred at the battle of Evesham, and the fact that his request was largely ignored cannot have helped his relations with the crown.[133]

In light of these matters, Gilbert's relationship is usually considered of secondary importance in his decision to stay at home. Michael Prestwich commented that it provided an 'adequate excuse' and nothing more.[134] Lloyd believes that Gilbert still intended to go on crusade without Edward in November 1270, as he was paid 1,000 marks of the 2,000 agreed by Richard of Cornwall in the arbitration.[135] The circumstances created by the treaty of Montgomery have perhaps been overlooked, as they may have played a larger part in Gilbert's withdrawal from the crusade than Prestwich allowed. Even if Gilbert had reached an amicable agreement

[130] Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, p. 385.

[131] Gilbert took the Cross in 1268, together with the Lord Edward, at Northampton at a council held by the papal legate Ottobuono. *Chronica Buriensis*, p. 39. His brother also took the Cross and went to the Holy Land. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 70.

[132] S. Lloyd, 'Gilbert de Clare, Richard of Cornwall and the Lord Edward's Crusade', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 30 (1986), 47.

[133] Ibid., 48.

[134] Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 71.

[135] Even Louis IX's envoys appeared to understand the importance of securing peace between Llywelyn and Gilbert. Lloyd, 'Gilbert de Clare', 53, 62.

with the Lord Edward, it is likely that the situation in Wales would have prevented his ultimate departure on crusade, as the Treaty achieved by Henry III in 1267 had not secured Glamorgan, the area of Gilbert's Welsh lands. Although this area had hitherto been free from Llywelyn's attentions as he focused on the north and east, the Welsh prince had been granted claims in Glamorgan which he would now be free to press. Gilbert was clearly aware of the threat, having 'already gone on the offensive' in the years before 1267, building a castle at Caerphilly in the commote of Is-Caiach.[136] In the month before Gilbert was paid 1,000 marks for the crusade, Llywelyn seized this castle as part of the 'common war' between the prince and the earl.[137] As the situation did not improve while crusade preparations continued, it seems unlikely that Gilbert would have been able to leave Glamorgan undefended for an absence in the Holy Land, whether Richard of Cornwall's arbitration succeeded or not.

II Motivations and Impact

The state of Anglo–Welsh relations in the Welsh borderland was one of the most influential factors in the decision to take the Cross in this region. As the stability of the border varied over time, participation might be particularly strong in one area during one crusade, yet be virtually non-existent in the next or on a later occasion. At the time of the First Crusade, the Normans were busy on the borders, where they 'ravaged Gower and Kidwelly' and 'moved hosts . . . against Gwynedd'.[138] In July 1093, the Welsh killed Robert of Rhuddlan; a year later, Roger of Montgomery died. In 1098, William Rufus led an invasion into Wales, and the following year the marcher lords Hugh, earl of Chester, and Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, invaded Anglesey. The majority of the marcher lords at this time neither could afford to leave their land nor had any desire to do so: there was enough fighting to be had taking lands from the Welsh, without having

[136] Davies, *Age*, p. 322.

[137] *Cal. Pat. R., 1266–72*, p. 583; M. Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217–1314* (Baltimore, 1965), p. 129.

[138] Entries for the years 1095 and 1098 in *BT. RBH.*, pp. 35, 37.

to go to the Holy Land. During the Second Crusade, the Normans had begun to develop the lands of the March, but they were still struggling to defend lands in the interior of the country;[139] others were involved in the civil war between Stephen and Matilda. A lack of strong royal leadership in England, and the fact that the civil war of Stephen's reign was not entirely resolved, meant that many could not afford to leave their lands.

The preaching of the Third Crusade by Archbishop Baldwin at Lent 1188 could be expected to have stirred a considerable amount of support for the crusades in Wales; several men who joined this crusade, such as John Rudd of Ystrad Meurig and John le Strange, came from areas along the route of the tour. It is possible that some were deterred by the breakdown in the relationship between the English crown and the Welsh princes after the death of Henry II, when the Lord Rhys waged war on the English. However, although his attacks succeeded in regaining several key castles, they were confined to the southern parts of Dyfed, and did not affect the lands of those men who had gone on crusade with king Richard.[140] Ystrad Meurig castle, whose captain, John Rudd, had gone on crusade, was captured in 1193, but it was taken by Rhys's son Maelgwn, not by Rhys himself or any marcher lord.[141] John Rudd, the Lord Rhys's son-in-law, may have considered it safe to leave the castle; although control of Ystrad Meurig wavered between the Normans, at the time of the crusade the Lord Rhys had held Ceredigion for over thirty years.[142]

Marcher participation in crusading was at its height in the thirteenth century, first during the period of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's rule in Gwynedd, and secondly after the sealing of the treaty of Montgomery in 1267. This increased participation admittedly reflected the levels of involvement in England, but the rise in marcher involvement also happened

[139] *BT. Pen.*, pp. 53–7.

[140] John Gillingham, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Lord Rhys', *Peritia*, 10 (1996), 232.

[141] *BT. Pen.*, p. 75.

[142] According to the Golden Grove Book of Pedigrees, Rudd married Tanglwstl, daughter of the Lord Rhys. Golden Grove Book, 'Advenae of Cardigan', 197; R. O. Jones, 'Ystradmeurig Castle', *Ceredigion*, 1 (1950), 41.

to coincide with a period when relations between the Welsh and men of the March were relatively stable, leaving landholders for many stretches of the March free to go on crusade. The first and most notable shift was the improvement in relations between Cheshire and Gwynedd that began shortly before Ranulf, earl of Chester went on crusade. In previous years, the earl had participated in campaigns against the Welsh, but he established peace with Llywelyn in 1218 before going on Crusade.[143] The number of men who accompanied him from Cheshire (including the constable of Chester, and one hundred knights, if one source is to be believed) suggests that the truce was expected to last; indeed, it was Llywelyn himself who greeted the earl upon his return in 1220.[144] Peaceful relations between Llywelyn and Ranulf continued to facilitate absence in the East on both sides throughout the 1230s, for Gruffydd ap Rhydderch (1233) and Ednyfed Fychan (1235) both received a safe-conduct to go to Jerusalem, and John the Scot, Ranulf's heir, felt that his western border was sufficiently stable to take the Cross in 1236 with Richard of Cornwall.[145] With the death of John the Scot in 1236 and the reversion of the earldom of Chester to the English crown, the amicable relationship between Gwynedd and Cheshire disappeared. From 1241, the crown used Cheshire as a launch-pad for attacks into north Wales; that being so, it was no longer feasible to leave these lands unprotected.[146]

Welsh participants had the additional problem of being attacked by their own compatriots or, in the early twelfth century at least, by their own kin. The majority of identifiable native crusaders came from areas which, at the time of their departure, were relatively stable. In the early twelfth century, when Wales was still under the control of a number

[143] *Annales Cestrienses*, p. 51.

[144] Ibid., p. 51; Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester*, p. 80. The close relationship between Cheshire and Gwynedd, and the large number of participants who took part with the earl of Chester, may have been a reason for the significant amount of information on this crusade found in the Welsh chronicles. It may also have contributed to the rise in interest in crusading reflected in courtly poetry. See chapter 1, pp. 40–1, of this volume.

[145] *Cal. Pat. R., 1232–1247*, pp. 17, 108; Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, p. 369.

[146] B. E. Harris, 'The earldom of Chester 1070–1301', in B. E. Harris (ed.), *Victoria County History: A History of the County of Chester, Vol. II* (Oxford, 1979), p. 6.

of petty rulers of often mutually hostile territories, the only member of a princely dynasty to take the Cross was Morgan ap Cadwgan. It is perhaps significant that it took something as important as guilt for his brother's murder to induce him to go; the other Welsh princes were probably too preoccupied with internal conflicts either to contemplate the crusade or to risk leaving their lands. It was not until the more stable rule of the Lord Rhys in Deheubarth and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in Gwynedd that many Welshmen, such as Aron ap Bledri (1189–92) and Ednyfed Fychan, felt able to contemplate a lengthy absence abroad.[147]

Political conditions in Wales and the March were not the only factors to influence an individual's decision to embark on crusade: once the major issues of the security of the border lands had been dealt with, more mundane issues invariably encroached on the decision-making process. Among these, the value of land, and its protection in the crusader's absence, influenced the options available. A potential crusader had to determine whether or not his lands would be able to fund his crusading activity, through mortgage, rent or sale, and was also concerned with ensuring that his lands would be protected in his absence, not only from invaders but also from avaricious claimants who might try to seize estates.[148] The network of marriages that linked the men of the March to each other, and to the native Welsh, as well as the high concentration of military settlements in Wales and the March that provided fighting men, also influenced crusade participation.

The initial settlement of the March in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and its attendant costs, may have made the issue of crusading prohibitive. In the years following 1087, Carpenter observes, the majority of the Norman knights 'were probably keeping their manors in hand and seeking to reorganise and expand the demesnes of

[147] For a list of Welsh crusaders, see appendix I.

[148] A desire to seize property probably drove William Trussel's half-brother to murder his wife and throw her in a marl pit. William of Luvel forced a woman into marriage while her husband was absent on crusade, and when Ralph Hodeng returned from the Fifth Crusade, he found that his daughter and heiress had married one of his peasants. See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 210–11.

home-farms within them'.[149] As such, they would have been unwilling to raise the money needed to fund the expensive business of the crusade by alienating lands. The Welsh were no better off; Davies observed that the law of partible inheritance caused 'recurrent haemorrhaging of rural wealth', which would have taken its toll.[150] Even Gerald of Wales, who was connected to the leading nobility of Wales, could not afford to set out in 1190, and was forced to inform the Pope that he 'did not have the means, of his own, to fulfil the vow'.[151] It is also perhaps significant that the more notable crusaders from among the Welsh – Ednyfed Fychan and possibly Llywelyn ap Gruffydd – lived in a period when Welsh lordships were larger, more stable hegemonies that would have been able to support such a venture and tolerate absence without detrimental effect.

The problem of raising money, due to the poor value of the land, was an issue that continued throughout the thirteenth century. Hamo Le Strange, a wealthy marcher lord, encountered financial difficulties, because the amount he succeeded in raising was not enough to cover his expenses in the Holy Land.[152] John de Verdun highlighted a problem encountered by the marcher lords when organising their crusading enterprises. In 1270, as part of his preparations to join the Lord Edward on crusade, John conveyed the manor of Stokesay on the Welsh border to Philip de Winchcote, for which the latter paid £24 for three years. Considering the manor was valued at £26 13*s.* 4*d.* per year in 1274,[153] it is clear that John de Verdun was not getting a fair return for this property. Hagger observes that the low price may have been 'due to Stokesay's position on the troubled Welsh frontier' and he is probably correct, since it is extremely unlikely that the value of the property would have tripled in the space of four years.[154] If John did receive such a small sum for his estate,

[149] Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, p. 34.
[150] Davies, *Age*, p. 158.
[151] *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents*, 326, Doc. #367.
[152] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 188.
[153] Mark S. Hagger, *The Fortunes of a Norman Family: The de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066–1316* (Dublin, 2001), p. 96.
[154] Ibid., p. 96.

it is likely that numerous prospective crusaders from the March were deterred from participating because the amount of money they would have received for any lands rented out or permanently alienated would have been low. Lands in the conquered areas of Wales, as opposed to the earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford, appear to have been particularly worthless in terms of revenue during this period. Carpenter observes that whereas lands assessed in England in the papal tax of 1291–2 showed a value of £4.04 per square mile for England, in Wales they were worth just £0.90.[155] In the twelfth century, animals were used as currency instead of cash, and it was not until the thirteenth century that coin was widely used.[156] The ability of the Welsh to raise the funds needed for crusading must have been even more restrictive than that of the marcher lords, for many of the latter, such as Payn de Chaworth and Robert Tiptoft, were able to gain funds from the English crown.[157]

During their absence on crusade, it was often necessary for marcher lords to hand the management of estates to other people. In the case of Cheshire, this meant using sheriffs. During Ranulf of Chester's absence from 1218 to 1220 Henry de Audley held the shrievalty.[158] This was not necessarily the most efficient way of managing the earl's lands during his absence. While Henry de Audley was to 'build up an important estate' during his time as sheriff, Ranulf's own estates were so poorly managed that by 1223 he owed the exchequer 'considerable sums' for the farms.[159] In 1270–2 the Lord Edward used the same practice. Having been given the shrievalty of Shropshire and Herefordshire in 1269 in his capacity as earl of Chester, he had appointed Urian de

[155] Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, p. 26.

[156] Davies, *Age*, p. 162.

[157] Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusades*, pp. 118–19.

[158] Sheriffs were usually appointed by the king, but as no land in Cheshire could be held directly from the king, under the terms of Domesday Book, the earl of Chester appointed his own sheriffs. Only Cheshire and Durham had this virtually autonomous rule. See Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 148; D. C. Cox, 'County government in the early Middle Ages', in C. R Elrington (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Shropshire, Vol. III* (London, 1979), p. 14.

[159] Ibid., p. 14; D. A. Carpenter, 'The decline of the Curial Sheriff in England, 1194–1258', *EHR*, 91 (1976), 11.

Sancto Petro and then James de Audley as his under-sheriffs. In 1270, however, Urian left on crusade with the Lord Edward, and James, despite taking the Cross, went to Ireland; the shrievalty was passed, first to Hugh Mortimer (1271), then to Ralph Mortimer (1273), his nephew, and finally to Robert of Trelleck (1274).[160] Hugh was the younger brother of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, whose relations with Edward in the past had been strained, but who in 1270 was appointed to care for Edward's interests during the crusade.[161] Hugh Mortimer of Mortimer was lord of Chelmarsh and an important local lord, married to the daughter of the earl of Derby and a supporter of the crown at the siege of Kenilworth.[162] He was also in the advantageous position of being one of Edward's friends. Cox notes that it 'had been necessary during Edward's absence to appoint trusted and powerful *curiales* as sheriffs'.[163] Hugh and his successors were chosen for qualities that were needed because Edward's involvement in crusading would otherwise leave the earldom of Chester without powerful control.

The decision of men from the March to go on crusade had an impact on their lands and families. At the time of the Fifth Crusade, John de la More's absence and subsequent death overseas meant that he was unable to come before the justices in eyre to give evidence.[164] Philip of Badger (Shropshire) sold the estate of Beckbury to his brother in 1227, in order to fund his crusading activities.[165] Ralph de Teoni's death on crusade led to a property dispute in which his wife Petronilla de Teoni (née Lacy) sought to reclaim her dower lands.[166] Brian Brampton probably gave his lands to his son and

[160] Ibid., 17.

[161] D. A. Carpenter, 'A noble in politics: Roger Mortimer in the period of baronial reform and rebellion, 1258–1265', in Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 202.

[162] Ibid., p. 190; Hopkinson and Speight, *The Mortimers*, pp. 132–3.

[163] Cox, 'County government', 17.

[164] *Justices in Eyre, Shropshire 1221, 1222*, p. 521.

[165] Shropshire Archives, Badger Hall Collection 513/2/2/1/2; G. C. Baugh (ed.), *The Victoria County History of England and Wales: A History of the County of Shropshire, Vol. X* (London, 1998), p. 242.

[166] *Cur. Reg. R., 1237–42*, 320; her son's wardship was awarded to the earl of Essex, and in 1251 Petronilla was ordered to hand over Painscastle to the earl so that it could be used by her son. *Cal. Pat. R., 1247–58*, 99.

namesake on his departure for crusade in 1270, and Robert de Mara gave Uffington to Haughmond abbey, Shropshire, on his deathbed in Benevento in 1192.[167] John de Verdun gave his deceased wife's share of Ludlow to his son Nicholas and, upon Nicholas's death, to his youngest son Theobald, although John's death meant that the inheritance of these lands was hampered by the interference of his second and surviving wife.[168] Hamo Le Strange's decision to go on crusade and his death in the East left his family in considerable difficulty. Having failed to obtain the relevant royal license for the land transactions he undertook in order to finance his crusading, his family had to fight until 1275 to prove that they had possession of his estate.[169] His sister Hawise, who had been assigned Stretton, did not receive the manor's revenues until that year, and his brother Robert, who had been given the manor of Wrockwardine before going on crusade with Hamo, had the manor seized by the crown. He, too, did not have it restored until 1275.[170] He also had to wait until April 1274 for the return of the manors of Colemere and Henton, which had been seized by the sheriff of Shropshire and by Adam de Chetewood, escheator of Cheshire.[171]

Despite the lengths to which many of these men felt they needed to go in order to secure their lands in their absence, none of them returned from crusading to find that their estates had fallen into the hands of the Welsh or, in the case of the Welsh participants, that they had been invaded by the marcher lords. There were a few instances where castles were taken while their personnel were absent – such as Ystrad Meurig – but ownership does not appear to have been affected. This was the result of several factors; first, that prospective crusaders did not leave for the East unless they were sure that some measure of security could be assured to their lands. Thus, Ranulf of Chester made his peace with

[167] *The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, ed. Una Rees (Cardiff, 1985), p. 224.

[168] Faraday, *Ludlow, 1085–1660*, p. 9.

[169] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 196.

[170] *Victoria History: Shropshire*, X, 89; G. C. Baugh (ed.), *The Victoria County History of England and Wales: A History of the County of Shropshire, Vol. XI* (London, 1985), p. 310.

[171] *Calendar of Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward I, Volume I, 1272–1307* (London, 1911), p. 21.

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and Richard I came to an understanding with the majority of the Welsh princes. Second, prospective crusaders like Gilbert de Clare appear to have remained at home if their lands seemed likely to fall prey to the expansionism of their neighbours; it is perhaps significant that no known crusaders went from the lands that the Lord Rhys was attacking in 1190–4, perhaps choosing to stay behind to defend them. A careful balance of weighing up the likelihood of conflict, and whether or not a lasting peace could be achieved, appears to have played an important part in the decision of whether or not to go crusading.

The fact that the main marcher families remained largely the same throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and intermarried, adds weight to the idea that many were driven by family ties to take the Cross. William Harley and Jasper Croft were related by marriage, and the Chaworth brothers, Payn, Patrick and Hervey, were probably influenced by each other in 1270. [172] The same may have been true of the brothers Hamo and Robert Le Strange, Adam, John and Simon de Monte Alto, the brothers-in-law Roger de Clifford and Roger de Layburn, Geoffrey de Geneville (or Joinville) and John de Verdun, and William Patrick and Urian de Sancto Petro, also brothers-in-law. When Ranulf, earl of Chester, left for the East in 1218, he took with him his brother-in-law and his nephew.[173] Others may have been fulfilling familial expectation by emulating a crusading ancestor. This may have been the case for Adam de Monte Alto, whose ancestor Roger de Monthaut had gone on crusade in 1250; Philip the Grammarian, son of Robert of Gloucester, whose great-uncle had been Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy; and John de Verdun, whose great-grandfather Bertram had gone on the Third Crusade.[174] John le Strange, who went on the Third Crusade, was followed in 1270 by his grandsons, Robert and Hamo. Geoffrey de

[172] *Cal. Pat. R., 1266–1272*, p. 440.

[173] Ibid., p. 411. Hamo may have taken eleven knights with him on the crusade, although it is not clear how many were from the March. Lloyd, 'The Lord Edward's Crusade', p. 126, n.38; *Cal. Pat. R., 1266–1272*, pp. 440, 479; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 77.

[174] For the de Verdun family tree, see Hagger, *The Fortunes of a Norman Family*, p. 16.

Geneville and William de Valence came from a long line of crusaders; in Geoffrey's case the French Joinvilles, and in William's his Lusignan ancestors.[175] Francis Jones also identified three Welsh Knights of the Holy Sepulchre descended in the same line: Ieuan ap Seisyllt of Glamorgan, his great-great-great-grandson Madoc ap Meuric and Madoc's son, Griffith Gethin. There was also another descendant of Ieuan's, Madoc ap Caradoc, who went to the Holy Sepulchre.[176]

The response from the March also appears to have been influenced by women, both those who lived with and married into marcher families, and those who exerted their influence from further afield. Jonathan Riley-Smith attributes Waleran of Meulan's decision to participate, at least in part, to the influence of his mother, who was the daughter of Hugh the Great, a Frenchman who participated in the First Crusade.[177] John de Verdun, a descendant of Bertram II de Verdun, may have been influenced by his wife Margery as well as by his lord and family tradition. Margery de Lacy was the granddaughter of Margaret de Lacy, benefactor of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, great-granddaughter of a Templar and, through her mother, great-granddaughter of William Marshal. Robert of Corbet's decision to crusade was, in all likelihood, a result of his wife's influence. In other cases, marcher women may have taken traditions from their families and influenced their own husbands or sons: Petronilla de Lacy, daughter of Margaret de Lacy, married Ralph de Teoni VI, lord of Flamstead and Castle Maud in Radnorshire, who died on crusade in the Holy Land in 1239.

Crusaders from the Marches who had neither familial relations with other crusaders nor specific motives for crusading

[175] *Cal. Pat. R., 1266–1272*, pp. 484–5. Geoffrey's elder brother Jean de Joinville went on crusade with St Louis.

[176] Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 21–2.

[177] Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Family traditions and participation in the Second Crusade', in M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), pp. 101–8 (p. 103). David Crouch suggests that Waleran's decision to go on crusade was 'understandable . . . for it allowed him to intrude himself into Louis VII's inner counsels without endangering his Norman estates'. He goes on to warn that 'simple politics was probably not his only motive for going to the Holy Land', as he was a deeply religious man who was 'devoted to the Church'. See David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 65–6.

were almost certainly stimulated by local relationships, crusading in order to maintain prestige in their localities, or being under obligation to accompany individuals. John le Strange was a Shropshire neighbour of Robert Corbet, and they were certainly together with the king on his return to Portsmouth. Although the belief in the absence of men from the Plowden, Walcot and Eyton families on crusade has no firm foundation, the geographical relationship between the three families is significant. The village of Plowden lies a few miles from Lydbury North, where the Plowden chapel forms one transept of St Michael's church. Between the two villages lies Eyton. Although the main seat of the Eyton family was at Eyton-upon-the-Weald-Moors, further north in the county, the name of Eyton village suggests that the same family held lands near Plowden and Lydbury. Thus, it is possible that the three families were linked through landholding, and that some form of obligation led them to crusade together.

The involvement of men from the March had several effects on Wales and the borderland. One such impact was on the physical landscape, on the construction of new buildings and the redistribution of lands. The foundation of Margam Abbey in 1147 by Robert of Gloucester may have been an indirect result of the crusading movement. His son Philip had participated in the Second Crusade, suggesting that there was interest in the family in crusading. In the 1130s Robert and his wife Mabel, heiress of Glamorgan and Gloucester, became protectors of the Cistercian abbey at Neath, and were actively involved in endowing other religious foundations in the 1130s and 1140s.[178] After Mabel's death, Robert married Adelaide of Le Puiset, sister of Hugh I of Le Puiset, who came from a family that included twenty-three crusaders and crusade settlers at the time of the First Crusade.[179] Robert's piety, combined with his military experience and proclivity for combat, would have made him an ideal candidate for crusade participation; however, at the time when the Second Crusade was preparing to depart, Robert was busy

[178] Chris Given-Wilson and Alice Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London, 1984), p. 91.

[179] Riley-Smith, 'Family traditions', p. 104. Riley-Smith includes husbands and wives in his calculations.

fighting Stephen and trying to control the young Prince Henry. Since these problems might have precluded a decision to go on crusade, it is conceivable that Robert founded Margam as a way of supporting the Cistercian order, which had played such an important role in promoting the crusade. This supposition may be supported by the interest St Bernard took in the foundation of the abbey, sending his own brother Nivard to receive the land from Robert.[180]

In addition to such a significant foundation, smaller land grants were also made by those linked with crusading. Robert of Baskerville gave land to St Peter's, Gloucester, on his return from the East in 1109.[181] Roger Plowden and a member of the Walcot family both allegedly built chapels at St Michael's church, Lybury North (Shropshire), in the mid-thirteenth century as a consequence of returning safely from the crusade; Eyton believed that they had gone on the Third Crusade as representatives of William de Vere of Hereford.[182] Another such tradition exists regarding St Catherine's church at Eyton-on-the-Weald-Moors (Shropshire), which Catherine de Eyton is supposed to have founded in gratitude for her husband's safe return from the crusades.[183] Robert FitzHarold of Ewyas built Dore abbey in Herefordshire in 1147, supposedly after Robert had met the abbot of Morimond while he was on the Second Crusade;[184] the family tradition of crusading seems to have continued, for effigies of

[180] *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earl and Countess of Gloucester to A.D. 1217*, ed. Robert B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), p. 114, #119.

[181] *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucester*, ed. W.H. Hart, 3 vols (London, 1863), I, p. 81.

[182] Oakeley of Oakeley supposedly made the same vow to build a chapel on his return from crusade, but no chapel was ever built. Cranage can find no evidence of this 'local tradition' regarding the origins of the Walcot and Plowden chapels, but concedes that if there is truth in the story, it might 'account for the building of both transepts'. No medieval architecture remains for either transept. Cranage, *The Churches of Shropshire*, I, pp. 411–12; Eyton, *Antiquities*, XI, p. 219.

[183] Cranage states that the family motto, 'Je m'y oblige', 'is supposed to have some references to this occurrence. The church was certainly in existence in early decades of the fourteenth century.' Cranage, *Churches of Shropshire*, II, p. 588.

[184] H. J. Massingham, *The Southern Marches* (London, 1952), p. 155. This is the hypothesis advanced by David H. Williams, although there is no evidence that the founder of Dore Abbey met Abbot Rainauld of Morimond. David H. Williams, 'The Abbey of Dore', in Ron Shoesmith and Ruth Richardson (eds), *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey* (Little Logaston, Herefordshire, 1997), pp. 15–36 (p. 15).

crusaders linked with the family, Robert of Ewyas and Roger de Clifford, lie in the abbey church.[185]

That participation was linked to political stability is thus evident from an examination of the crusades from Wales and the March. No notable crusaders went at the time of the First Crusade, probably because of expansionist aims in Glamorgan; although a contingent of Welsh-born fighters participated, none of them was of sufficient import to be named, and the fact that they served under a French nobleman from Thouars suggests that they were perhaps hired swords. The native Welsh never sent a contingent of their own led by a Welsh prince, probably because such a significant absence of men would have left lands open to attack by their Norman and Welsh neighbours. The Welsh simply did not possess stable enough borders to field such an army. That did not mean that the Welsh nobility did not take the Cross, as the participation of Ednyfed Fychan, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and, perhaps, an anonymous princeling at the time of the Third Crusade, indicates.

The number of marcher lords embarking on crusade generally reflected English patterns, though local difficulties sometimes prevented participation, such as in 1190–4, when the Lord Rhys was attacking castles in south Wales. The regional ties between the marcher crusaders also suggest that peace was a factor; it is possible that if an area was stable enough for one man to leave on crusade, it would be likely that his neighbours would feel the same impulse. The large

[185] Ruth Richardson, 'People in the abbey', in ibid., pp. 92–6. Physical reminders were not necessarily limited to religious buildings; legend tells of Lalys, an architect from the Holy Land, who was brought to south Wales by Richard Granville, lord of Neath, in 1111 and asked to redesign many castles in south Wales. He then went on to work as architect to Henry I; the village of Laleston (or Tref Llays) in Glamorgan was supposedly named after him. The tale has now been 'totally discredited'. D. J. Cathcart King, *The Castle in England and Wales: An Interpretive History* (London, 1991), pp. 78–9. There is also a suggestion that castle design in Wales and the March reflected the influence of the crusades (for example, at Beeston, Pembroke, Caldicot, Beaumaris and Caernarfon), but the chronologies advanced by historians such as Hugh Kennedy are imperfect, and the origins of new developments are as likely to be found in the military advances under Henry II as they are in the Holy Land. For the debate, see Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 37, 187–8; anon., 'Chester Meeting-Report', *Arch. Camb.* (1910), 175; Arnold Taylor, *The Welsh Castles of Edward I* (London, 1986), p. 78, n.4; King, *The Castle*, pp. 77–89.

number of crusaders from Cheshire at the time of the Fifth Crusade was undoubtedly the result of friendly relations between the earl of Chester and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.

Even for those who did not go on crusade, the impact of the crusades was felt in Wales and the March. Religious foundations, land exchanges and changes in landholding sprang from crusade organisation and devotion. Some families had traditions of crusading – such as the de Lacys and Le Stranges – which might have kept the ideals of crusading alive in particular areas of the March. The native Welsh themselves were more involved in the crusading movement than has hitherto been appreciated, participating from the time of the First Crusade onwards. They, too, were affected by domestic conflict and the problems of organisation and financing; perhaps it is for this reason that native Welsh crusaders tend to appear in isolation in the records, rather than en masse.

IV

THE MILITARY ORDERS IN WALES AND THE MARCH

The orders of St John of Jerusalem (known as the Hospitallers), and the Knights Templar were the two most important military orders. The first had its origins in the late eleventh century; the second was founded *c.*1118 and formalised in 1129.[1] Both orders combined monastic ideals with militaristic functions, by which they sought to defend the Holy Land. Funding the activities of the orders in the Latin East was a costly affair, so lands granted to the Hospitallers and the Templars in the West were intended to provide an income for the knights in the Latin East.[2] The foundation of preceptories and commanderies in Europe, and the attendant grants of lands and rights to these foundations, gave both orders considerable wealth and influence. Wales and the March, like most of Europe, supported the military orders by granting lands, manors, churches and various rights to both orders as a way of showing support for their work in the Holy Land and, no doubt, to salve consciences.[3]

The only study to consider the military orders in Wales and the March as a whole was published by William Rees in 1947.[4] Although his work was a comprehensive survey of

[1] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John* (London, 1999), p. 19; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Stroud, 2001), p. 23.

[2] The rising status of knighthood, which required an expensive outlay in terms of horses and equipment by the end of the thirteenth century, accounted for a large proportion of Hospitaller finances. Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitallers* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 51. Only one-third of the Hospitallers' income was sent to the Holy Land each year. Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 2001), p. 262. For the financial burdens placed on the Templars, see Malcolm Barber, 'Supplying the crusader states: the role of the Templars', in Benjamin K. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 314–26.

[3] Matthew Paris believed that the Hospitallers alone had 19,000 manors in Europe. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, IV, p. 291.

[4] William Rees, *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border* (Cardiff, 1947).

the holdings, activities and relations of the orders, it lacked comparative European comment, and paid only superficial attention to the Knights Templar. Evelyn Lord's more recent work, *The Knights Templar in Britain* (2000), considers the Templars on the border and in Wales, but without any attention to Anglo–Welsh relations, or consideration of patterns of endowment of other orders, especially the Hospitallers, in Wales and the March.[5] Neither book compared the establishment of Templar and Hospitaller lands in these areas with those in borderlands in Europe, or considered how crusade participation from these areas may have influenced the endowment of the military orders. Helen Nicholson's article on the Hospitallers and the British frontier goes some way to addressing the role of the military orders in border societies, with useful comparisons made with Ireland and the north of England, but her main concern was to discuss the reason for their settlement in such areas and what they achieved, in terms of frontier colonisation and control, once they were settled.[6] However, restrictions of space meant that she was unable to analyse this issue in depth in relation to the Welsh frontier. This chapter begins by surveying where and when the Hospitallers and Templars were given lands, income and rights, and then considers the motivations of these gifts. It judges how crusade interest and relations between England and Wales affected the location and timing of endowment, as well as how the Welsh became involved in the military orders in Ireland and Scotland. Lastly, the chapter compares how the establishment and endowment of both orders in Wales and the March compared with other parts of Europe.

Although most of the original charters relating to the gifts made to the military orders in Wales and the March are thought to have been lost, a transcription of the muniments relating to Slebech, which has the appearance of an incomplete monastic cartulary or charter roll, survives as Cardiff Central Library MS 4.83.[7] A sixteenth-century copy

[5] Evelyn Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain* (London, 2000), pp. 110–16.

[6] Helen Nicholson, 'The Knights Hospitaller on the frontier of the British Isles', in Jürgen Sarnowsky (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 47–57.

[7] The document is in a seventeenth-century hand, unfoliated, and lists grants

of a confirmation charter of Anselm, bishop of St David's, dated *c.*1231–2, detailing the lands, churches and properties belonging to the Hospitallers, also survives in the same collection; this latter was printed, with a translation and notes, by J. Roger Rees in 1897.[8] Records of other grants survive in Dugdale's *Monasticon* and in *The Report of the Prior Phillip de Thame*, and the administrative records of England furnish the names of other donors and their grants, but no original archives appear to survive.

I The Hospitaller and Templar Lands

The Hospitallers had two houses in Wales, Slebech and Ysbyty Ifan, and two in the March, at Halston and Dinmore. The most important of these was Slebech, in Pembrokeshire. As the primary Hospitaller commandery in Wales, Slebech was responsible for administering most of the lands belonging to the order in Wales.[9] The date of the foundation of Slebech is uncertain, and although Wizo the Fleming is often credited with establishing the Hospitallers at Slebech, it is more likely that his son or grandson did so, between 1148 and 1176.[10] It

and confirmations. On the last page of the document the remnants of another folio remain, but are illegible. There is another copy in NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH, No. 247a. An abstract of this document is printed in B. G. Charles, 'The records of Slebech', *NLWJ*, 5 (1948), 193–5. Colonel Horton supposedly used Slebech's books and manuscripts to make a bonfire at the time of the Civil War, undoubtedly destroying a great deal of the papers that would have shed light on the matter. Richard Fenton, *Historical Tour Through Pembrokeshire* (Brecknock, 1903), p. 292. Fenton was also responsible for the loss of some manuscripts. For a discussion of the survival of records relating to Slebech, see Charles, 'The records of Slebech', 179–89.

[8] There is also a copy in NLW, Slebech 3144. The Cardiff copy, in a seventeenth-century hand, claims to 'harmonise with the original'. A note on the back of the last leaf of the document reads 'The exemplification of all the possessions belonging unto the commandery of Slebech'.

[9] Some Hospitaller lands on the border may have been administered by preceptories lying further east in England. This may have been the case for Barrow (?) in Cheshire, given to the Hospitallers by Robert de Bachepuz between 1135 and 1154, which does not appear to have been connected with Halston or Garway. William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols (London, 1830), VI, p. 801.

[10] NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH, No. 247a, states that Walter son of Wizo gave the Hospitallers the land of Slebech; CCL MS 4.83: the date range is argued by William Rees in *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border* (Cardiff, 1947), p. 28.

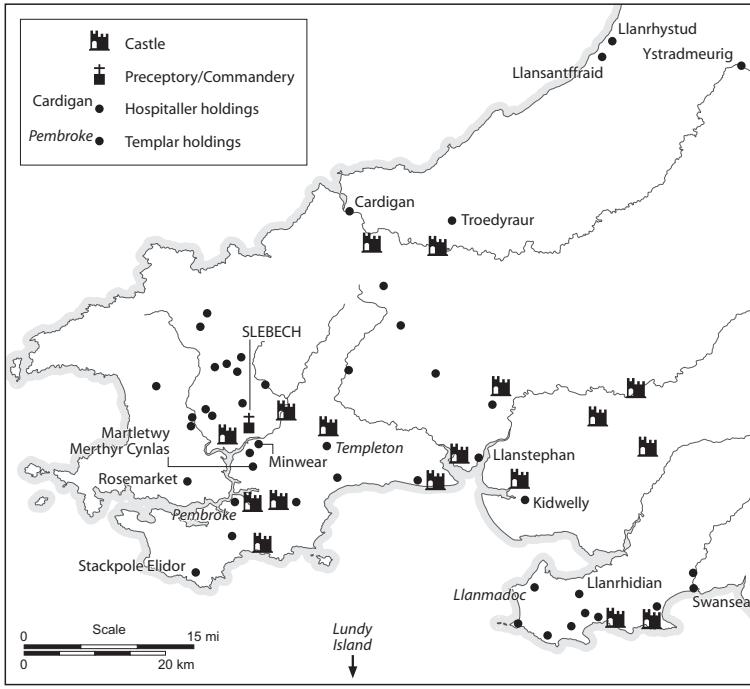


Figure 1 Slebech's estates. Italicised names indicate Templar possessions; dots without names indicate Hospitaller possessions not mentioned in the text. Key castles of the period are indicated, and Hospitaller preceptories and Templar commanderies are capitalised.

is easy to see why Wizo was credited with Slebech's foundation, for he is included, with his son and grandson, in Bishop Anselm's confirmation of 1230 as a donor to Slebech.[11]

Richard Fenton, who had access to earlier Hospitaller records which appear to have been lost, was no closer to solving the confusion surrounding Slebech's foundation, stating: 'It had not yet been precisely ascertained by whom, or at what time, it was founded. Camden and the *Monasticon* attribute its foundation to Wizo and Walter his son, because

[11] 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83. A transcription and translation of the confirmation is printed at the end of Roger Rees's article on Slebech. See 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', in J. Roger Rees, 'Slebech commandery and the Knights of St John', *Arch. Camb.*, XIV (1897), 101.

they appear to have contributed more largely than any other benefactors to its endowment.'[12] It seems likely that lands in Wizo's control in Daugleddau had originally been given to the monks of St Peter's, Gloucester, but they were transferred to the Hospitallers after a dispute over the transfer of the rights to these churches from Gloucester to the priory of Worcester in the 1150s. Walter opposed the transfer and instead claimed the lands and gave them to the Hospitallers. It was at this time that Slebech was given to the Hospitallers; it appears that Slebech then took responsibility for the lands already granted to the order in south Wales.[13]

The earliest of these was the 'the advowson [of the church] of St Madoc in the vill of Rudpac, with the chapel of St Leonard's of Castle Symon', which was given to the order between 1115 and 1148 by Alexander Rudepac, lord of Rudbaxton.[14] Philip Poer gave several gifts around 1130, including a church, land and tithes, as did John, son of Letard, Robert, son of Humphrey, and several others.[15] The lands given to the Hospitallers were predominantly in Pembrokeshire, although some were in Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and the Gower peninsula.[16] The largest of these grants were at Llansantffraid and Ystradmeurig, where Earl Roger de Clare gave five carucates each (about 500–600 acres) in 1158, and at Bossinfield and Willansel 'in Dungledi', which were granted by Philip, son of Wizo, and his son Henry in about 1170.[17] Anglo-Norman settlers and native Welshmen made a few smaller but generous grants, although

[12] Charles, 'The records of Slebech', 179; Fenton, *Historical Tour*, p. 88; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, pp. 804, 836.

[13] For a discussion of Slebech's adoption of control, see Rees, *History*, pp. 27–8.

[14] 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83; Rees places Symon's Castle two miles from Wiston. Rees, *History*, p. 25.

[15] John, son of Letard, gave the church of St Egidi (?) and the vill of Letard, with the chapel of St Mary Magdalene. A Phillip, son of Letard, or possibly his brother, was also involved in making grants to the Hospitallers, as was Swein, son of Letard. 'Slebech muniment list', CCL MS 4.83; NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH No. 247a.

[16] The 'Muniments of Slebech' list grants predominantly made in Pembrokeshire, such as those at Clarbeston, Waletun, Prendergast, Haverfordwest and Ros, but also includes others from Glamorgan, such as those made at Swansea and the Gower peninsula. 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83.

[17] NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH No. 247a; 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83; J. Rogers Rees was unable to place Boccinfield or Willansel, although he believed it possible that the latter may have lain in the hamlet of St Thomas. 'Slebech

the majority of the donations comprised churches, chapels and small amounts of acreage rather than vast tracts of land. Small grants were being made in the late thirteenth century – notably by Edmund, son of Henry III – but most were given in the twelfth century.[18] As with grants to other religious foundations, the donors to Slebech were also careful to bestow rights which would ensure that the Hospitallers could do more than farm or rent out lands; fisheries, mills and free ferryage across the river Towy were some of the gifts.[19]

In the mid-twelfth century, Robert, son of Lodomer, confirmed the grant of the manor of Minwear to the Hospitallers made by his father.[20] The site lay on the opposite bank of the eastern Cleddau from Slebech, and consisted of lands, meadow, a mill and a church. The ruins on this site have variously been described as a mansion, a house, a tithe barn and a pilgrim hospice, the latter because Slebech lay on the pilgrim route to St David's, and pilgrims would have been housed separately from the brothers.[21] A ferry across the river, usable only at certain times of day, took the travellers across.[22] Helen Nicholson, however, has suggested the possibility that these ruins were a sisters' house for the female members of Slebech; the house was established across the river from the main house in order to segregate women from men.[23]

The Knights Hospitallers possessed one 'wholly Welsh foundation' at Dolgynwal (known as Ysbyty Ifan) in Denbighshire, high in the remote and mountainous area of north Wales that was undoubtedly, until its fall to Edward I in 1282, part of *Pura Wallia*.[24] Ifan ap Rhys of Trebys, a few miles north of the site of Ysbyty Ifan, made the original grant of land in the 1190s.[25] Soon after Ysbyty Ifan was founded, it seems that

commandery', pp. 209, n.23, 217, n.145.; 'Confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83.

[18] 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid. 'Confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83.

[21] Helen Nicholson, 'The Sisters' House at Minwear, Pembrokeshire: analysis of the documentary and archaeological evidence', *Arch. Camb.*, 151 (2005), 112–13.

[22] For hospitality at Slebech, see pp. 167–8 of this volume.

[23] Nicholson, 'The Sisters' House', 131–3.

[24] Rees, *History*, p. 63.

[25] Owen Edward Jones, 'Llyfr Coch Asaph: a textual and historical study', unpublished MA thesis (University of Wales Aberystwyth, 1968), 2 vols, I, p. 92; *Valor*

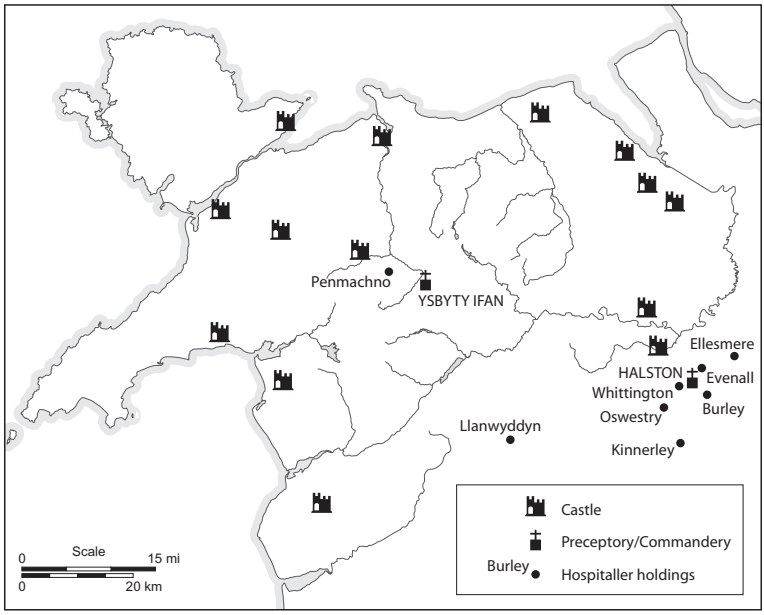


Figure 2 Estates of Ysbyty Ifan and Halston.

the Hospitallers there were granted the manor and church of Llanwddyn. Rees could date the gift only to before 1338, but Pryce has shown that the lands at Llanwddyn were given to the Hospitallers before 1205.[26] Ysbyty Ifan's estates also included Penmachno chapel.[27]

ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII: Auctoritate regia institutes, 6 vols (London, 1810–34), IV, p. 455; William Rees suggests that this grant was made 'as early as 1190'. Rees, *History*, p. 63. Nicholson places the grant in the first years of the thirteenth century, although she does not state her source. Nicholson, 'The Knights Hospitaller', p. 50. It is interesting to note that Alan, the former prior of the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, was made bishop of Bangor in 1195. *De invectionibus*, pp. 95–6. Unfortunately, no further information on Ifan ap Rhys of Trebys is forthcoming, so whether or not he or his family had particular connection to crusading is unknown.

[26] *Knights Hospitallers in England: The Report of the Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338*, ed. Lambert B. Larking, Camden Society (London, 1857), p. 38; *Valor ecclesiasticus*, IV, p. 455: Pryce describes the reference to the Hospitallers in a grant of 1205 made to Strata Marcella as 'valuable evidence' that the Hospitallers were established there by that time. See *AWR*, pp. 76–7; R. J. Silvester, 'The Llanwddyn Hospitum', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 85 (1997), 64–5.

[27] *The Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, p. 38.

Although Ysbyty Ifan was a Welsh foundation, its remote position and involvement in local religious life were valuable in extending the reach of the church into the region; the bishop of St Asaph agreed that the Hospitallers could administer the sacrament and give divine service to the neighbouring clansmen of Marchwithian, a role usually carried out by the secular church.[28] It was perhaps for this service, in addition to receiving one-third of oblations and tithes, that they held a sixth of the clan lands at Trebys, their main estate. All other gifts made to the Hospitallers at Ysbyty Ifan were small, consisting of two manors, five churches, a mill and various lands. Although the names of all donors, except Ifan ap Rhys, are omitted, the geographical location of the contributions strongly suggests that they came from native Welsh benefactors, for throughout the twelfth century these lands were subject to the rule of the princes of Gwynedd or Powys Wenwynwyn.

At the close of the thirteenth century, the importance of Ysbyty Ifan declined dramatically and it became instead part of the bailiwick of Halston in Shropshire.[29] Halston was founded between 1165 and 1187 by Roger de Powis, who gave the Hospitallers the manor, lordship and church there.[30] He also gave them other lands at Kinsall, Evenall, Biket and Burley. It is possible that he was responsible for the granting of the tithes of the lordship of Whittington to the order, since he held Whittington castle in the same period. The last donations to Halston at Ellesmere and Kinnerley were made in the first half of the thirteenth century, the first by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and the second by either Gruffydd Goch or Madoc de Sutton.[31] This small number of donations meant that the addition of the lands from Ysbyty Ifan would have doubled

[28] Ibid., p. 64. The use of military orders to fulfil the role of the Catholic Church was not unusual in frontier societies. The Order of Dobrin was established in 1228 as part of Bishop Christian of Prussia's missionary efforts. Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1992), p. 33.

[29] *Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244–1326* (London, 1927), p. 45.

[30] *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri londinensi asservati*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1987), p. 16.

[31] Huw Pryce casts doubt upon the authenticity of Llywelyn's charter granting Ellesmere in 1225, and suggests that the charter had been altered at some point. *AWR*, pp. 420–1.

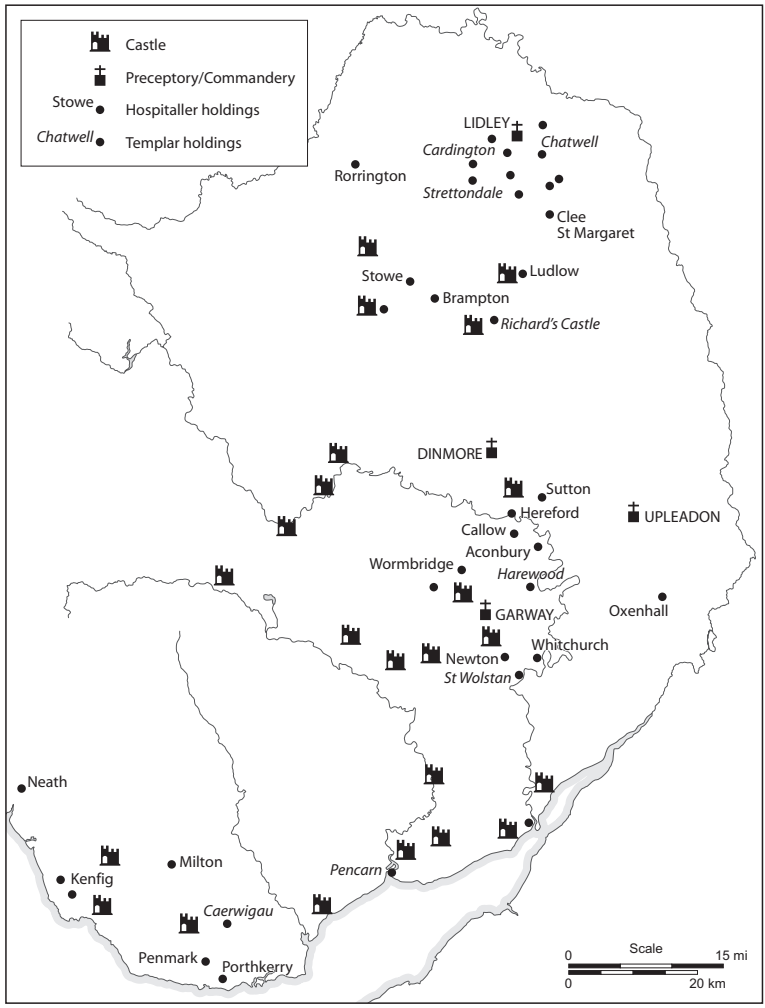


Figure 3 Estates of Dinmore and Templar Lands on the March (*in italics*)

Halston's estates. J. Rogers Rees observed that the inclusion of Ysbyty Ifan in the extended bailiwick of Halston 'may have been brought about as a result of the fall of Llywelyn in the last war of independence, 1282–3'.[32]

[32] Rees, 'Slebech commandery', p. 68. In February 1288 William de Henlet,

Putting the remote and previously Welsh-dominated Hospitaller foundation of Ysbyty Ifan under the control of Halston may have been an effective way of ensuring some measure of English control in a remote part of Wales, since the Hospitallers at Ysbyty Ifan were now directly under the control of a commandery in England. However, since some of the properties (such as Llanwddyn) were rented out, it is uncertain how much of a presence the Hospitallers would have maintained in the region.

Hospitaller lands in the east of Wales along the border, and in Herefordshire and Shropshire, were controlled from Dinmore in Herefordshire, founded at the end of Henry II's reign by Brother Thomas of Dinmore.[33] The grant was confirmed by Richard I, and witnessed by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, at Hereford while he was engaged on his recruitment tour of Wales and the March.[34] Grants were also made in Herefordshire at Callow, Wormbridge, Hereford and Sutton St Michael, but Dinmore was the only site run by the Hospitallers, the others being rented out. Dinmore controlled grants in Shropshire at Clee St Margaret, Ludlow and Turford, and collected a pension from a church and chapel at Stowe, as well as lands in Gwent and Glamorgan.[35] These grants were distributed in an arc, from Porthkerry church in south Wales, to Rorrington manor near Montgomery; they followed a line east of the Anglo-Norman castles that were built in the March, rather than to the west, where lands were often subject to changes of ownership during the ongoing conflicts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The most important lands that Dinmore possessed were therefore in England, including Wombridge, Callow

the prior of the Hospitallers in England, visited Edward I's castles in north Wales. *Calendar of Chancery Rolls, Various, 1277–1326* (London, 1912), pp. 319–20.

[33] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, p. 802; *Liber feodorum*, p. 101. In 1246, Henry III also gave the patronage of several churches in Hereford to the Order of St Anthony, which was later taken over by the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. H. J. Harris, 'The Knights Hospitallers in Herefordshire', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (1944), 161–2; *Cal. Pat. R., 1292–1301*, p. 138.

[34] Ibid., p. 158.

[35] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, p. 836; *The Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, pp. 30–1; *Rotuli hundredorum tempore Hen. III & Edw. I in Turri Londinensi et in curia receptae scaccarij Westm. asservati*, ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley, 2 vols (London, 1812–18), II, p. 72; *Liber Feodorum*, I, p. 101.

and Sutton, with only small and 'unimportant parcels of land' scattered throughout Gwent and Glamorgan.[36]

Although the dating of these endowments is uncertain, it appears that they were not granted until later in Dinmore's history, and their size – one acre at Kenfig, and eight- and twelve-shilling pensions from the churches of Porthkerry and Penmark, respectively – was probably too small to have made a significant difference to the house's wealth. Furthermore, the order collected rents from two chantries and a church in the city of Hereford, where Richard I granted them a hospital with various lands.[37] This may have been Coningsby hospital outside the north gate of the city walls, which a 1932 inventory concluded 'was formerly occupied by a house of the Knights of St John'.[38] These royal donations were the exception; the majority of the donations to Dinmore throughout the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries came from lesser, unknown benefactors; their anonymity and the size of the gifts suggest that they may have been relatively minor landholders.[39]

The Knights Templar also received a substantial number of grants in the March and in Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[40] The most important of the Templar

[36] Richard I granted a manor and church at each *c.*1189. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, p. 836; Rees, *History*, p. 45.

[37] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, p. 836.

[38] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire*, 3 vols (London, 1931), I, p. 129.

[39] Some grants, such as that of the hamlet of Turford, are known only to have been made by the lords of Richard's Castle, date unknown. Eyton, *Antiquities*, p. 233. George Tull believed that some of these gifts could have come from Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford (1218–82), whom he believed was a member of the Knights Templar, but there is no evidence for this. George Tull, *Traces of the Templars* (Rotherham, 2000), pp. 89–90. Hartwell-Jones believed that he was the provincial master of the Templars. Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain*, p. 143, n.2. The bishop's tomb in Hereford cathedral is surrounded by depictions of armoured men, and Tull observes, 'there must surely have been some reason why the Holy Bishop's tomb was guarded by Knights, rather than saints, angels or mourners'. Tull's assertion has no supporting evidence, however, as the bishop's register reveals that he had little contact with either the Hospitallers or the Templars beyond dealings in the regular administration of his diocese. *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis*, ed. R. G. Griffiths and W. W. Capes (London, 1907), pp. 192, 240, 304, 308.

[40] The *Chronicle of Robert of Torigni* claims that Henry II established a Templar house in 1157 between the castles of Rhuddlan and Basingwerk. 'Chronicle of Robert of Torigni', in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, 4 vols (London, 1884–89), IV, p. 195. Hartwell-Jones instead

houses in the March was that at Garway in Herefordshire, with another preceptory later established at Upleadon. They received several other gifts at St Wulstan, Rowlestone and Harewood, as well as gifts at Pencarn, Neath and Caerwigau.[41] Henry II established Garway in the last years of his reign, when he granted 2,000 acres to the order, together with the castlery and church.[42] This was significantly more than the forty acres allowed in Shropshire, ten in Oxfordshire, seven in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, and one hundred in Bedfordshire.[43] An earlier grant had been made to the Templars in Wales in 1156, when Margaret, countess of Warwick, gave them the church and manor of Llanmadoc, but the grant, being smaller than that at Garway, was naturally given over to the support of the larger establishment.[44] Although it was in Herefordshire, Garway received Templar grants as far away as Pembroke, where they were given a mill[45] and Lundy Island, both of which were given to them in 1189 by Richard I when he was due to embark on his crusade. Garway also managed the manor of Pencarn, and held forty-two acres of land at Bonvilston that were leased to Margam abbey.[46] In addition, the Templars established a village at Templeton, perhaps in an attempt to settle the area with those who would support their cause, or at least help to ensure the stability of the area, in return for free land and a period of exemption from taxation.[47] The involvement of Henry II and Richard I in the foundation of the Templar

suggests that Templars were established in Rhuddlan. Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 143 –4.

[41] *The Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, pp. 196–7, 213; *Liber Feodorum*, II, p. 1273; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, IV, p. 351.

[42] *Record of the Templars*, p. 142. It was at this time that Henry II began granting lands to the Templars in Ireland. Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 138.

[43] Ibid., p. 172.

[44] For the text of the grant, see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, p. 841. Audrey Tapper believes that the large oak chest, which still rests in the church, was part of this administrative organisation; she claims it was used to collect funds for the Fourth Crusade: Audrey Tapper, *Knights Templar & Hospitaller in Herefordshire* (Little Logaston, 2005), p. 64. Harris likened it to the chest in Temple Church, London, which, he states, 'was used to hold the vestments of the priests': Harris, 'Knights Hospitallers', 160.

[45] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, p. 838.

[46] Lord, *The Knights Templar*, p. 114.

[47] Ibid., p. 114. Fenton thought that Templeton was a hunting area for the Knights of St John. Fenton, *Historical Tour*, p. 167.

preceptory at Garway and the number of gifts they gave to the order were a reflection of the growing association between the Templars and the English crown, which had appointed several Templars to key posts.[48]

The fact that Garway had such strong royal support raises interesting questions as to why the crown was willing to give the Templars so much land at Garway – 2,000 acres – and why the donation was made so late in Henry's reign. Helen Nicholson convincingly argues that the Templars received such generous support because they, 'as faithful royal servants, would remind the local lords of royal authority'.[49] Evelyn Lord suggests that it was for this reason and for the 'proximity to the border with Wales . . . [that] the Templars arrested in 1308 were younger than elsewhere', although there is no evidence that the age of the members was in fact related to the possibility of conflict.[50] The Templars originally built a round church at Garway, the remains of which can still be seen, but then replaced it with a semi-fortified church in the thirteenth century, perhaps in order to protect themselves in the volatile March, though it is unlikely that the church could have withstood serious attack.[51] Nicholson reveals parallels here with the houses of the Hospitallers in

[48] It was the generosity of King Stephen and his wife that had given the Templars their first large grants of land in England. Henry II's almoner, named only as Roger, was a Templar, and they were involved in collecting the Saladin Tithe in 1188. *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, pp. 111, 169; Lord, *The Knights Templar*, pp. 159–69.

[49] Nicholson, *Knights Templar*, p. 172; Helen Nicholson, 'The military orders and the kings of England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in Alan V. Murray (ed.), *From Clermont to Jerusalem: the Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 203–18 (205, 208). This view was echoed by Jonathan Riley-Smith, who claimed that both Hospitallers and Templars 'were given manors up and down the Welsh Marches to protect against lawlessness'. Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, p. 82. Henry was not the only king to grant borderlands to mark his authority and protect his lands. In 1211 Andrew II of Hungary granted Burzenland to the Teutonic Order 'not only (as) defence against attack from the Cumans, but also expansion'. Forey, *The Military Orders*, p. 34.

[50] Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 113. The majority of the Templars questioned at Paris in 1307 were in the 50–59 age bracket, but the second highest figure was of those aged 20–29, suggesting that the Templars often attracted young members. See Barber, 'Supplying the crusader states', p. 321, fig.1.

[51] At Temple Court, Upleaden (Bosbury), the remains of a moat have been found, and whether it was defensive or ornamental has not been established; the latter is more likely, as the site at Upleadon lies so far from the border with Wales. Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record (SMR: computer database), no. 304.

Ireland, which 'were built like fortresses . . . this does not mean that they had set out to fight the Irish; only that the area was insecure and they needed to make their houses defensible'.[52] Given that Garway was founded at a time when the king's relationship with the leading prince of south Wales was amicable, it seems likely this was not the case at Garway.

An earlier Templar settlement existed at Lidley in Shropshire, founded in the 1150s by Herbert Costello.[53] In the same period, William FitzAlan also gave Cardington church, mill and lands in Enchmarsh and Chatwell.[54] The size of the settlement in Shropshire was significantly smaller than that at Garway, for here Henry II allowed the clearance of only forty acres of land, just two per cent of the total permitted at Garway. The known donors were all Anglo-Norman lords. Henry II gave forty acres at nearby Botwood, Robert le Waleys and the Lord of Richard's Castle three and two-and-a-half virgates, respectively, and an unknown donor gave one hundred acres of land and forty of wood at Stretton.[55] This land was quickly cleared and turned over to farming and rental at Cardington, Enchmarsh and Chatwell respectively, which brought in an income of £6 15*s.* 7*d.*[56] The last preceptory to be founded in the March was at Upleadon, at Bosbury in east Herefordshire, bequeathed to the order by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, in 1219. Upleadon, unlike Garway and Lidley, had no Welsh estates. The earl granted four hides of land to the Templars there, and twenty-three years after William's death the preceptory of Upleadon had 480 acres, a significant amount of land for what was a minor house of the order. It is somewhat surprising that a man with so much land did not in fact donate more lands to the Templars, given that Roger de Clare, earl of Hereford, gave the Hospitallers over 1,000 acres in the space of a year.[57]

[52] Nicholson, 'The Knights Hospitaller', p. 52.

[53] Eyton, *Antiquities*, VI, pp. 238–41; *Record of the Templars in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185*, ed. Beatrice A. Lees (London, 1935), p. cxii.

[54] As the Hospitallers decided to establish their commandery at Lidley, Gaydon concludes that William FitzAlan's grant post-dated that of Herbert de Costello. A. T. Gaydon (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Shropshire, Volume II* (London, 1973), p. 85.

[55] *Record of the Templars*, p. 143; *Rot. Hund.*, II, p. 72; Rees, *History*, pp. 124–5.

[56] Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 116.

[57] Rees, *History*, p. 112. Rees has wrongly named him as Roger, earl of Clare, but

The number of settlements and their spread across Wales and the March shows that the Welsh and the marcher lords were interested in supporting the military orders.[58] The majority of the grants made, especially in Wales, were to the Hospitallers, mainly in the marcher area of Pembrokeshire, where there was also a large Flemish population. Welsh interest in endowing the Hospitallers is demonstrated by the grants made to Slebech, where eleven of the donations were made by Welsh-born individuals, and by the foundation of Ysbyty Ifan in north Wales by Ifan ap Rhys of Trebys.[59] Gifts to the Templars were fewer in number in Wales and the March, although those given by the crown in Herefordshire were large. Endowing the military orders was not, however, the only way in which the men of Wales and the March demonstrated their support of the orders associated with crusading, because some men joined the military orders. A few became Templars, and even those who did not become active knights themselves supported the efforts of the military orders by administering their estates in Wales and the March, thus raising revenue that could be spent on campaigning in the Holy Land.

II Membership of the Orders

In his survey of *c.*1716 of St David's cathedral, Browne Willis noted on his sepulchral plan the existence of four effigies in the south isle, 'Knights Templars Monuments of the Wogan family, as is said'.[60] Subsequent earthquake damage has made the effigies almost impossible to interpret, and by

the Slebech Estate Records name him as Roger de Clare, earl of Hereford. NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH No. 11477; 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83.

[58] This included some female benefactors, such as Isabelle, daughter of Hugh, who gave the church of 'Amenolston' and the chapels of 'Ryner' and 'Woodstoke' from her patrimony. 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83.

[59] Anarawd ap Gruffydd Owen ap Gruffydd gave 'land in Moylon'. Katherine, daughter of Howell, later confirmed the grant. Rhys ap Gruffydd and Maelgwn ap Maelgwn gave half an acre at Merthyrkinlas. Seisyllt ap Caradoc gave the church of Amroth. Mereduc, William and Rees, sons of Eugene, gave all the arable lands of Kidwelly. Cadwgan ap Griffith later confirmed the grant. 'Muniments of Slebech', CFL MS 4.83; 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83.

[60] 'A sepulchral plan of St David's Cathedral', reproduced in E. Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. E. F. Green (London, 1927), facing p. 14.

1856 it appears that only two remained in existence.[61] These two are believed to represent David Wogan, chancellor of St David's, and Sir John Wogan, lord of Picton, who in 1302 founded the chantry in which the monuments originally lay and who died 'about 1319, and is said (without authority) to have been buried at St David's'.[62] Fenton repeated the idea that the figures represented members of the family who had been crusaders, but he gave no evidence for this assertion. The arms of the Wogan family, descendants of Bleddyn ap Maenarch, lord of Brecon, and of Tudor, prince of south Wales, bore a lion rampant, which was supposedly granted to them by Richard I as a reward for the role they played in the Third Crusade. The lion could, however, have come from two other sources, the first being Helen, daughter of Tudor, who, according to the Bronwydd pedigree drawn up in 1677, included a lion rampant on her arms.[63] The second possibility is that the lion was added to the Wogan arms when the descendants of the Wogan line married the descendants of Sir Aaron Rhys ap Bledri, who was awarded a lion rampant at the time of the Third Crusade.

The chantry's founder, Sir John Wogan, does not appear to have had any links with the Templars.[64] He was a vassal of William de Valence, who took part in the Lord Edward's crusade in 1270–2, and while it is possible that John Wogan accompanied him, there is no evidence to this effect. It is hard to determine whether Browne Willis had access to sources that have since been lost (the comment that the Wogan monuments were Templar 'as is said' suggests he had

[61] William Basil Jones and Edward Augustus Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St David's* (London, 1856), pp. 120–1.

[62] Fenton, *Historical Tour*, p. 50; Henry Owen, *Old Pembroke Families in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke* (London, 1902), p. 41. Sir John Wogan is also said to have died in 1321.

[63] See 'The pedigrees of Thomas Davies Lloyd Esq of Bronwydd in Co Cardigan', in *Baronia de Kemeys, from the Original Documents at Bronwydd Printed for the Cambrian Archaeological Association* (London, 1863) (no page number). The Taichroesin MS confirms Bleddyn's marriage to 'Elin' daughter of Tudor. J. E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 294.

[64] For a short account of Sir John Wogan's life, see Geoffrey J. Hand, 'Wogan, Sir John (d.1321/2)', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000)*, vol. 59 (Wilks–Wolman) (Oxford, 2004), pp. 945–6.

heard this as common knowledge), or whether the undamaged monuments gave more detailed information than can now be gleaned, but it seems unlikely that it was this Sir John, founder of the chantry, who was a Knight Templar. Without evidence to the contrary, it seems most probable that Browne Willis's claims were founded on confusion over the Wogan-Phillips arms and Sir John's involvement with the Templars across the Irish Sea.

There are very few sources that give us the names of members of the Knights Templar of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. A Welshman, Master Ednyfed, appears to have acted as prior of the order in north Wales in the late thirteenth century.[65] Gilbert de Lacy, who disputed Joce de Dinan's right to Ludlow, became a Knight Templar and went to the Holy Land in the 1160s.[66] Apart from these individuals, the only others named as being members of an order related to crusading are those noted in the genealogies as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. The origins of the order are unknown, and it is not until 1334, when William of Boldensele referred to the knighting of two men 'over the Sepulchre', that the existence of some method of knighting connected to the Sepulchre was confirmed.[67] There is no evidence that a knightly order existed before this time, although a chapter of canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was established in Jerusalem *c.*1114, and in the sixteenth century they gained the right to create knights.[68] Several Welsh sources, most of which are pedigrees, name individuals as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in the twelfth and thirteenth century. Since there is no evidence that the order existed before 1336, these identifications are open to question. It is possible that Knight of the Holy Sepulchre was used retrospectively as a way of describing someone who had gone on crusade and reached Jerusalem, and that they had not necessarily been through any ceremony of knighthood while there.

[65] Rees, *History*, p. 104. Rees does not cite his source.

[66] Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 71; William of Tyre, *Historia rerum*, II, p. 874. Lord notes that the same appears true of the Templars in Scotland, where 'Most of the grants of land . . . came from Norman families and no Scottish family name appears as members of the Order in Scotland': Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 143.

[67] Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2005), p. 337.

[68] Ibid., pp. 210, 338.

The majority of the individuals associated with the Sepulchre are found in the Golden Grove Book of Pedigrees, written in the mid-eighteenth century and copied from another source by a scribe who identified himself only by the initials 'E.E.'.[69] Edward Owen declared that he was 'inclined to rate *The Golden Grove Book* rather low', but even he conceded that he did not know how well it related to the great medieval pedigrees.[70] With this in mind, it seems that the identities of those named as knights must be considered on an individual basis as to whether they were connected to the crusade movement. Others are referred to in genealogies produced in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but unfortunately there are no earlier references to membership of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. This may be a reflection of renewed interest in the knights during these centuries, and thus use of the title having been associated retrospectively with those who had been to the Holy Land.[71]

Major Francis Jones, Wales Herald of Arms Extraordinary, identified nine Welsh Knights and seven settled in Wales and the Marches who were knights of the Sepulchre in the period before the dissolution of the Templars.[72] The earliest of these Welsh knights was Cyllin Ynfyd, perhaps of Anglesey, whom the Llyfr Baglan claimed 'was a knight of the sepulchre'.[73] Francis Jones believed that he flourished in the second half of the eleventh century, suggesting that he took part in the First Crusade, when the Holy Sepulchre was returned to Christian hands.[74] According to G. T. Clark's *Limbus Patrum*, he was followed in the first half of the twelfth century by Ieuan

[69] Carmarthenshire Archives GB 0211, CAWDOR. Golden Grove Book; Edward Owen, 'The "Golden Grove" Book of Pedigrees', *Arch. Camb.*, (1903), 163. Owen identifies him with Emanuel Evans, who flourished *c.*1764. Ibid., 164.

[70] Ibid., 167.

[71] Colin Morris noted that the nobility were keen to be knighted there, and that those who returned 'were important as publicists of the Holy Sepulchre.' Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, p. 338.

[72] Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 11–33. Jones's study covered the period up to the sixteenth century. He identified forty-eight members of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Thirty-four of these were connected with Wales and the March.

[73] *Llyfr Baglan, or The Book of Baglan. Compiled between the years 1600 and 1608*, ed. John Williams and Joseph Alfred Bradney (London, 1910), p. 301; Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 21.

[74] Ibid.

ap Seisyllt (*c.*1100–50) of Morgannwg, whose descendant, Madoc ap Caradoc (*c.*1250), was also a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.[75] Ieuan had two more descendants who were, according to the *Geneaology of the Earls of Landaff*, members of the order: Madoc ap Meuric of Glamorgan (*c.*1250–1300) and his son Griffith Gethin, but this source is very unreliable and full of error.[76] The anonymous author of the *Genealogy* stated that Madoc ap Meuric was 'an eminent leader of the crusaders, who founded the hospice of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which was afterwards endowed by his grandson Jevan in 1288, and known as "Jevan's Hospice"'.[77] Ysbyty Ifan was founded *c.*1190 by Ifan ap Rhys, making the validity of the claims in the *Genealogy* doubtful, and it is entirely plausible that the identification of these men with the Holy Sepulchre is erroneous. Furthermore, the *Genealogy* is very confused in its dating: Madoc's son Griffith, another Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, was apparently 'knighted by Richard II' and it was claimed there were ten generations of this line from 1187 until 1288. [78]

Of the remaining four Welsh knights, it appears that two were in the service of the English crown, and that this was the reason for their participation in the crusades. Aron ap Rhys ap Bledri of Cilsant supposedly took part in the Third Crusade in the service of King Richard, for which he received a lion rampant on his arms.[79] Rhys Chwith, identified by the

[75] G. T. Clark, *Limbus patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae: Being the Genealogies of the Older Families of the Lordships of Morgan and Glamorgan* (London, 1886), pp. 7–8; J. Barry Davies described the *Limbus Patrum* as prone to omission, error and problems brought about by lax proof-reading standards. He identified that Clark used the Golden Grove Book and the Llyfr Baglan, among others, in the composition of his work. J. Barry Davies, '*Limbus Patrum*', in Brian Ll. James (ed.), *G. T. Clark: Scholar Ironmaster in the Victorian Age* (Cardiff, 1998), p. 123; Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 22.

[76] *Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff*, pp. 18, 21; The *Limbus patrum* does not name either man as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and says that Griffith Gethin received his knighthood in Ireland. Clark, *Limbus patrum*, p. 7; Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 22.

[77] *Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff*, p. 21.

[78] The reference to Richard II must be a printing error, as it goes on to say that Griffth's son Jevan married the niece by marriage of King John, which would suggest Richard I was intended. Ibid., p. 21.

[79] Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 21; Peniarth MS 156 printed as 'Genealogies of Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire families', pp.

Cardiganshire historian Horsfall-Turner as 'one of the squires to the body of Edward I', presumably gained his knighthood after serving Edward in the crusade of 1270–2, during which he 'received the title of knight of the Holy Sepulchre'.[80] The other members, Griffith ab Elidir Goch of Carmarthenshire and Tudur ap Grono of Montgomeryshire (*c.*1250), were not known to be in royal service, so if they did go on crusade it is likely that they did so independently.[81] In all cases, there is no contemporary evidence that these men were knights of the Sepulchre, or even that they went on crusade.

Francis Jones also identified four Knights of the Holy Sepulchre from the March, but again the evidence he used to support these findings is unreliable.[82] He listed Titus de Leighton and Jasper de Croft as participants in the First Crusade; Dansey claimed Jasper 'fought in Palestine under the banner of Godfrey de Bouillon'.[83] I can find no evidence to support Dansey's claims. O. G. S. Croft concluded that Jasper's death in the Holy Land 'was the reason for his father Bernard becoming a monk and helping to endow the Cluniac priory at Thetford', but did not explain why a man who held lands in Herefordshire would be endowing a priory in Norfolk, nor did he provide any evidence for this claim.[84] The Second Crusade participants were William de Wigmore of Lucton in Herefordshire, identified by Dansey, and Gilbert, lord of Trefyn Payn, named in the Golden Grove Book.[85] According to Jones, Gilbert was the younger son of the lord of Ewyas, an area in Herefordshire that produced

10, 31, 72, 90. Aron's father Rhys ap Bledri had acted as interpreter for the English king. Rees, *History*, p. 113.

[80] Horsfall-Turner, *Walks and Wanderings*, p. 110; Meyrick, *History of Cardiganshire*, p. 356, n.11.

[81] Golden Grove Book.

[82] Jones admitted himself that the evidence on the border knights was 'both late and tenuous'. Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 31.

[83] Of Shropshire and Herefordshire, respectively. Ibid., 31; O. G. S. Croft, *The House of Croft and Croft Castle* (Hereford, 1949), pp. 10–11; Golden Grove Book; J. C. Dansey, *The English Crusaders* (London, 1850) (no page number). Several of the names listed as crusaders in Dansey's work are supported by other sources, but many appear nowhere else, and this work should be treated with a degree of caution where corroborative evidence is not forthcoming.

[84] Croft, *The House of Croft*, p. 11.

[85] Dansey, *English Crusaders*; Golden Grove Book; Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 25, 31.

another crusader in 1147.[86] There are no earlier references to these men as crusaders, however, so without supporting evidence their involvement remains in doubt.

Two men became Knights of the Holy Sepulchre after participating in the Third Crusade. John Rudd, captain of Ystradmeurig castle and married to a daughter of the Lord Rhys, travelled to the Holy Land in the company of Richard I and there was killed defending the king. Although Rudd is not mentioned in the crusade works, it is possible that he was influenced by both Baldwin's preaching campaign in Wales and his father-in-law's support for the crusade into taking the Cross. According to Francis Jones, he was active in the king's service in Sicily, Cyprus and Acre.[87] The fall of the castle during the period of the Third Crusade may have been partly attributable to his absence, but again there is no firm evidence. The second marcher resident who became a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre at this time was John Corbet of Wattlesborough in Shropshire, but he is not identified as such until a pedigree produced in the eighteenth century.[88] It is possible that this John was a relative of the Robert Corbet mentioned in a roll of crusaders said to have served with Richard at Acre.[89] This Robert was a member of the Caus branch of the family; John, as his name suggests, was linked with the lands at Wattlesborough that had been granted to his branch of the family before the time of the Second Crusade.[90] The last Knight of the Holy Sepulchre from the March was Hugh de Kynnardsleye of Newland in Herefordshire, whom Jones says went in the time of Henry III, presumably in the Lord Edward's crusade (1270–2).[91] Nothing else is known about him, although the omission of his name from the extensive lists in the patent rolls suggests that if he was indeed a crusader he was in the retinue of one

[86] Robert FitzHarold of Ewyas (1147). Massingham, *The Southern Marches*, p. 155.
[87] Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 27.
[88] Royal College of Arms, Protheroe MS XVII, fo. 397; John Davies, *A Display of Herauldry* (1716), p. 28.
[89] Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1120, fo. 174r; Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 10.
[90] Ibid., pp. 8, 68.
[91] Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', 31.

of the greater lords who attended Edward or Edmund, rather than directly in royal service.

If there were Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it would suggest that their popularity did not wane in the way that support for the military orders did. By contrast, there were no Welsh Templars, and only three possible Cymro-Norman names are recorded in Philip of Thame's report of 1338 on the Hospitallers.[92] However, the existence of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre at the time is in doubt. If this was a title retrospectively applied to known crusaders, then it was a result of the fashions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Without contemporary evidence for any of these men as crusaders, their participation, as knights or otherwise, remains uncertain.

III Motivation

The motivations behind the grants made to the Templars and Hospitallers in Wales and in the March were numerous, but it is the grants to the Templars that are most interesting in the context of Anglo–Welsh relations. The grant that Henry II made at Garway and the gifts of a mill at Pembroke and of Lundy Island by Richard I linked the Templars with the English crown and 'would remind the local lords of royal authority'.[93] This link with the king may have been a reason for the lack of enthusiasm for the Templars among the Welsh and marcher lords, because the Templars were servants of the crown and may not have been trusted by the Welsh and the marcher lords, who were asserting their independence.[94]

[92] Risius Walesys (preceptor of Ossington, Notts.), Jacob de MountGomery (Montgomery) (a brother at Slebech) and Philippus Ewyas (of Beverley in Yorkshire), whose name suggests he originally came from the area of Ewyas in western Herefordshire. *The Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, pp. 37, 51, 56. The same is true of Scotland, where it seems that most of the Templars and Hospitallers in Scotland came from England. Ian B. Cowan, P. H. R. Mackay and Alan MacQuarrie (eds), *The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. xxxxviii. Lord suggests that members in England with the surname de Scot, Scotho or Scotto were originally Scottish. Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 143.

[93] Nicholson, *Knights Templar*, p. 172. King John confirmed the gifts made to the Templars of Lundy Island in the first year of his reign: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, p. 842.

[94] Royal support for one order in preference to another could easily affect their

Although at the time of the initial foundation the friendship between the Lord Rhys and Henry II supported peace, after the king's death relations deteriorated rapidly and Rhys began to wage war once again, making Welsh support for a recent crown endowment unlikely. This coincided with Richard's gifts to the Templars and his subsequent absence on crusade; it is not unreasonable to assume that Richard gave more grants to the Templars of Garway on the eve of departure in order to secure their loyalty on the border while he was in the Holy Land. In this light, it is hardly surprising that the native Welsh chose to restrict their benevolence to the Hospitallers of Ysbyty Ifan and Slebech.

The second reason for the lack of Templar endowments is best illustrated with reference to the impact of the Templars in Scotland. Hugh de Payen's visit to Scotland in 1128 succeeded in convincing King David I of the qualities of the Knights Templar; the Scots king then invited the order to settle in Scotland.[95] Their earliest Scottish lands were granted at the time of Hugh's visit, or immediately afterwards. As far as can be determined, Hugh de Payens did not visit Wales on his promotional tour, and this may explain the more muted support the order received in Wales.[96] By contrast, the Hospitallers took longer to become established in Scotland than they did in Wales, for Hugh had harnessed the king's initial enthusiasm into supporting his order rather than that of the Hospitallers. Finally, the actions of the Templars at Lidley may well have alienated prospective donors in the locality. Jealousy of the Templars' farming skills sparked an attack on a consignment of oats in its way to Ludlow market in 1274.[97] If tensions were running high, then neighbouring landholders would probably be less inclined to contribute to the wealth of their farming rivals.

The lands granted further away in the disputed areas of the March, such as in Pembrokeshire, were probably given in

fortunes, as in Scotland, where royal support of the Templars was reflected in the two preceptories founded there, in contrast to the Hospitallers' single commandery. Nicholson, *Knights Templar*, p. xxvi.

[95] MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 15.

[96] This is not to say that the native Scots greeted the Templars with a tide of enthusiasm: the majority of the Templar endowments were Norman in origin, and there are no known Scottish Templars.

[97] *Rotuli hundredorum*, II, p. 101; Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 116.

an attempt to settle the lands there, since the king no doubt hoped the Templars would discourage the native Welsh from seizing these lands, and so might help the aims of the English crown. [98] Hospitaller grants were given for the same reason. Nicholson writes: 'In south Wales, disputed territory on the frontier between the Cymro-Norman marcher lords and the Welsh princes was given to the Hospital as a means of winning God's favour, demonstrating concern for the defence of Christendom and stabilising the frontier.'[99] The timing of a grant could be the result of several influences, but it is likely that Henry was fulfilling his penance for the murder of Becket and reacting to requests from the Holy Land, whose leader had been soliciting his help since he was first sent an embassy asking for aid in 1168.[100] The number and urgency of these appeals increased during the succession crisis of the 1180s.[101] If Henry did indeed intend to go on crusade (he certainly took the Cross often enough to suggest it was more than just a remote possibility), then he could have granted the lands in Garway as a means of helping to secure the Welsh border in his absence, the Templars feeling especially obliged to help a donor who would soon be in the Holy Land fighting for their own cause.

The main reason for endowing a religious foundation was usually piety. As a motivation, however, genuine piety can often be difficult to determine, because charters and grants tend to be worded to suggest pious intentions when this was not necessarily the prime motive of the grant. As a great ruler in Wales, the Lord Rhys (died 1197) would have been expected to grant lands to religious foundations. He granted the land, vill, church and mill of Llanrhystud to the Hospitallers in the 1170s, as well as confirming the grants of the church of Llansantffraid and the lands of Ystradmeurig

[98] Ibid., p. 172. Respect for religious lands must have been the sentiment the king was anticipating, for, as Nicholson explains, the role of the military orders on the March was not to physically fight the Welsh. Nicholson, 'The Knights Hospitaller', 55.

[99] Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 103.

[100] For Henry II's attitude to crusading, financial contributions and motivations, see H. E. Mayer, 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land', *EHR*, 97 (1982), 721–39.

[101] For this crisis, the attempts to enlist the help of the West and the subsequent disaster at Hattin, see Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land, Relations Between the Latin East and West, 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 254–66.

made by Roger de Clare in 1158.[102] Rhys's gifts to the Hospitallers formed part of a wider pattern of patronage, which saw him endow the Benedictine priory at Cardigan, the Cistercians of Strata Florida and the Premonstratians at Talley. It seems that the endowment at Llanrhystud was not the only one of Rhys's which can be linked with the crusades; Cowley writes that 'his decision, delayed for three weeks, not to take the Cross, may have spurred him to make the modest compensatory act which resulted in the foundation of Talley'.[103] If this were the case, it suggests that when it came to crusade fulfilment, Rhys ap Gruffydd was more concerned with maintaining God's favour than he was in materially assisting the fight in the Holy Land by supporting the military orders at home.

William Marshal, earl of Pembroke (*c.*1146–1219), was also motivated to some degree by genuine piety. As tutor to young Henry from 1170, William quickly advanced, marrying Isabella, heiress of Richard de Clare, in 1189, whence he was elevated to the earldom of Chepstow, and later Pembroke (1199). William's grant of Upleadon was not particularly large, but the timing of the endowment suggests that piety and fear for his immortal soul may have lain behind it. On his deathbed in 1219, William reportedly asked for two silk sheets to be brought to him. Addressing the assembled crowd, he said:

> I have had these cloths for 30 years. I brought them with me when I came back from crusade to serve the purpose for which I intend them, that is to say to be spread over me when I am laid in the ground . . . When I was away on crusade, I gave up my body to the Temple for burial. Know that I shall give them Upleadon, my rich manor. I wish it so and I shall be buried in the Temple, for that was my vow.[104]

In 1190 William Marshal gave Cartmel in Lancashire to the Augustinian canons, 'a sign, perhaps, of local and filial feeling'.[105] Crouch observes that although William's grant

[102] K. L. Maund, *Handlist of the Acts of the Native Welsh Rulers, 1132–1283* (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 12–13; *AWR*, pp. 166–7, 196.
[103] Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 36.
[104] *History of William Marshal*, I, p. 97.
[105] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 73.

came at a time when the fashion for founding houses was on the wane among the greater magnates, for William it was still significant, for he had only recently become an earl, and was clearly eager to follow the fashion for large foundations.[106] At the time of his death matters were different, and smaller gifts were now the fashion. William had had sufficient time in the later years to make grants, but the fact that he gave them this 'rich manor' at the very end of his life indicates, firstly, that the fate of his soul was very much on his mind, and, secondly, that he was particularly supportive of the Templars.[107]

As with other donors, William Marshal's grant was not the result of just one motive. Crouch notes that William's devotion to the Templars probably stemmed from the time he was nine or ten, when his father granted them Rockley in Wiltshire.[108] He could have given the manor at Upleadon to the Hospitallers or to any other religious order. His choice of the Knights Templar was probably the result of his involvement with the order in the Holy Land.[109] William Marshal was an 'associate' member of the order who had fought in the Holy Land on its behalf in his youth.[110] Although he did not participate in the Third Crusade, staying instead to assist in the government of England in Richard's absence, in 1183 he had been given 100 livres by Henry II to go on crusade, where he fulfilled the vow of Young Henry, who had imposed its realisation upon William Marshal as he lay dying

[106] Ibid., p. 73.

[107] Piety and commitment to this order are certainly respectable motivations, but William's critics have suggested that his deathbed generosity and adherence to the Templars was driven by self-preservation. As Lord writes: 'Less charitable accounts suggest that William chose to die wearing a Templars' mantle because he had been excommunicated by the bishop of Ferms through a dispute over land and would otherwise have been forbidden a burial in consecrated ground.' Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 37.

[108] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 24.

[109] The lack of correlation between membership, crusade participation and donation was not particular to Wales and the March, as in Yorkshire most lands were given by those who stayed in England. Janet E. Burton, 'The Knights Templar in Yorkshire in the twelfth century: a reassessment', *Northern History*, 27 (1991), 34. Of the 800 Templar patrons for England identified by John Walker, fewer than 40 went on crusade. John Walker, 'Alms for the Holy Land: the English Templars and their patrons', in Andrew Ayton and J. L. Price (eds), *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London, 1995), p. 68.

[110] Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 163.

in 1183.[111] William also gave the Templars the honour of burying his body, leaving his commitment to the order itself in little doubt.

The earl of Pembroke was not the only man to grant lands to the military orders as a result of his involvement with them. Although the name of the donor of the castle of Ros and the church of St Leonard is now lost, it is possible that this gift was made by either a member of the Knights Hospitaller or a close member of his family. It is likely that the church and castle, granted to the Knights at Slebech, stood at either Llanrhystud or Rosemarket.[112] Rees, however, favours the explanation that Castle Ros was in fact Rice castle, which once stood near Picton. He explains that this castle probably belonged to Rhys ap Bledri, lord of Cilsant and grandson of Cadifor Fawr. Walter Apelgard had granted a carucate of land before 1176 to the Hospitallers on the west side of the castle of Rhys ap Bledri.[113] Archaeological excavations in 1864 uncovered a gold ring decorated with the arms of Sir Aron, son of Rhys ap Bledri, at 'a tumulus near Picton Castle'.[114] In light of this donation of lands adjacent to the castle of Rhys ap Bledri and the identification of the site at Picton as his home, it is interesting to note that Sir Aron ap Rhys ap Bledri, as mentioned above, may have gone on the Third Crusade, and as such had an interest in crusading. The lion on the gold ring is no doubt the same lion that causes such confusion for historians of the Wogan family. It is possible therefore that either Rhys or Aron granted the church and castle to the Hospitallers.

The donation of Castle Ros highlights an important factor in making grants to the crusader institutions: family tradition. William Marshal's sons were involved in donating lands as their father had done; Walter Marshal (d. 1241) confirmed Hospitaller lands at Canaston and Minwear, the grant of

[111] *History of William Marshal*, I, pp. 351, ll.6896–905, 371, ll.7275–80.

[112] The alternative possibilities for this donation are made for the following reasons: there was a Castle Rhos and a church near Llanrhystud; Rosemarket is suggested, as St Leonard's Well stands near to the Church. The latter is unlikely, as Rosemarket is already mentioned as having been granted by the three barons *c.*1145. For the possible locations, see Rees, 'Slebech commandery', 206, 215, n.120.

[113] 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83.

[114] Anon., 'Haverfordwest meeting-report', *Arch. Camb.*, X (1864), 362.

Lodomer of all his land in Minwear, and the land of Cadwgan that lay between Lodomer's lands and the manor of Minwear. He also added the rights of 'free chase and warren over the whole manor of Mynwere' and all the wood and its liberties to their privileges.[115] Wizo's contributions (if he was indeed the first family member to make such grants) were followed by those of his sons Walter and Philip, and then their sons Walter and Henry, throughout the twelfth century. Brothers, such as Einion and Goronwy ap Llywarch, and Robert and William, sons of Elidur, gave at the same time to Slebech, and the same family names occur in different grants, suggesting that family ties influenced numerous gifts: de Poer appears twice, John and William de Braose are named as donors,[116] and it is possible that the Robert son of Richard FitzTancard, who gave the manor at Cuffern, was the son of Richard son of Tancard who gave the manor and church at Rosemarket. The grant of Robert, son of Elidir, and that of his brother suggest that interest in crusading and its institutions was considerable within the family.[117] The identification of Sir Elidir de Stackpole as a crusader, which appears to have arisen due to confusion with Elidir Ddu of Iscennen and the belief that the effigy in Stackpole church depicted Elidir as a crusader, may have been augmented by the family's connection to the Hospitallers. Their link was, however, as patrons, not as members.

There is another family whose name regularly appears in the records of endowments made to the military orders, namely that of the Lacys of Herefordshire.[118] The Lacys were a Norman family from Lassy, who settled in the Welsh March under William the Conqueror. Gilbert de Lacy, grandson of Walter who settled in Wales, became a member of the Knights

[115] 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83.

[116] Ibid.

[117] The 'Muniments of Slebech' also note that 'William, son of Eliard [gave] one carucate of lands in Pembrocshire'. Rees later amended this name to read 'William son of Elidor', who may have given lands at Stackpole, suggesting that Elidor had two sons who were patrons of the Hospitallers. Rees, *History*, p. 111.

[118] The Lacys were patrons of several orders, notably St John at Pontefract (Cluniac), St Oswald, Nostell, Haughmond and Llanthony Prima (Augustinian), Benedictine cells at Ewyas Harold and Hereford and the Cistercians of St Mary Kirkstall. Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp. 30–2; Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 7.

Templar in the late 1150s, witnessing a charter between the English and French kings as a Templar in May 1160.[119] In the same year he added his signature (again as a witness) to a letter from Walter of Hereford to the king of England from the Holy Land, and so did two other Templars.[120] Before joining the order, Gilbert had granted the Templars a large grant in Guiting, in Gloucestershire, and Winchcombe.[121] Wightman suggests that Gilbert joined the Templars to escape the 'dullness of life as a provincial landlord and glorified country squire, as much as anything else'.[122] It seems unlikely that Gilbert would have been bored: for the ten years before he joined the Templars he had been a leading light of the invasion of Ireland. Perhaps he had accumulated a decade of sins fighting the Irish and felt that this was the best way to atone for them. It is plausible that Gilbert de Lacy was attracted to the order because it was already linked to his family through grants of land in England, and the Templars were at that time becoming established along the Welsh border in Shropshire and other places.[123] His wife certainly appears to have been influenced by familial interest in crusader institutions, granting part of her dower, Quenington in Gloucestershire, to the Hospitallers.[124]

Gilbert de Lacy's son, Hugh the elder (1118–86), sustained the family tradition of endowing the military orders by granting them twelve burgages and two virgates of land in Ludlow.[125] He was not the only de Lacy to be generous to the religious in that town. A Gilbert de Lacy sold a fulling-mill to the founder, aptly named Peter Undergod, of the Hospital of Holy Trinity in Ludlow.[126] The dating of the foundation

[119] Ibid., p. 189.

[120] T.N.A., C 115-K2/6683, reproduced in David Wales, 'Notes and Documents: A Letter from the Holy Land', *English Historical Review*, 72 (1957), 662–5.

[121] Wightman, *Lacy Family*, 207.

[122] Ibid., p. 213.

[123] Ibid., pp. 82, 91, 103, 104, 106, 259.

[124] Wightman attributes this donation to the Templars, but Nicholson asserts that the correct recipients were the Hospitallers. Helen Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire', *JEH*, 50, no. 4 (1999), 635, n.16.

[125] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, II, p. 72; *The Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, p. 30; Rees, *History*, p. 122.

[126] R. Ian Jack, 'Fulling-mills in Wales and the March before 1547', *Arch. Camb.*, 130 (1981), 112.

of this Hospital is uncertain.[127] The Hospital, it seems, was benefiting directly from the Templars, as the Gilbert in question was probably the Gilbert who joined the order *c.*1158. As Jack concludes: 'the Templars were responsible for introducing two of the very earliest fulling-mills to England, at Newsham in Yorkshire and Carton in Gloucestershire, by 1185'.[128] There was another Gilbert de Lacy (Gilbert II here) alive in Herefordshire at about this time, a grandson of Gilbert de Lacy the Templar by his son, Hugh the elder. Although Gilbert II died in 1186 it is possible it was he who made the sale to Peter Undergod. Be that as it may, it would appear that one of the earliest fulling-mills in the country was the result of de Lacy patronage, and probably came into the family's possession through its links to the order of the Knights Templar.

The support afforded to the crusader institutions in the Welsh March was continued by Margaret de Lacy (née de Braose), who married Gilbert de Lacy's grandson Walter, eldest brother of Gilbert de Lacy II.[129] Margaret founded a convent of Augustinian nuns at Aconbury, which she chose to place under the control of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem. Nicholson attributes this choice to the traditions of her marital family, to a desire to support the Fifth Crusade, which was starting about this time, and because the Hospitallers asked her to give it to them.[130] This would have allowed them to extend their estates in the area, for they already held the estate of Callo, some five miles to the east. It is also possible that King John ordered Margaret to make the grant, or ordered her husband to ensure that she made it. The relationship was far from harmonious, however, as after

[127] Knowle and Cheney could only vaguely place its foundation in the reign of Henry III, but Cule claimed that the precise date was 1253. Ibid., 112.

[128] Ibid., 112. It seems that about this time a round chapel, a design favoured by the Templars, was built in Ludlow castle. Glyn Coppack, 'The round chapel of St Mary Magdelene', in Ron Shoesmith and Andy Johnson (eds), *Ludlow Castle: Its History & Buildings* (Logaston, 2000), p. 150.

[129] Women patrons reflecting the preferences of their families, and carrying traditions established by their natal families to their marriage families, were common trends in the Anglo-Norman world, as well as in Europe. See Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1135* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 152 and n.8.

[130] Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy', 634. This appears to have been what Gregory IX believed: *Les Registres de Gregoire IX*, Doc. #1330; *Calendar of Papal Registers*, p. 134.

realising that membership of the order would entail military service, Margaret took steps to dissociate the nuns from the order of St John, writing to the Pope to ask forgiveness for her error. The dispute dragged on for some years, because the Hospitallers refused to give up their possession, but eventually Aconbury cut its ties with the Knights Hospitaller and the women were allowed to return to their original status as a purely Augustinian foundation. Margaret's choice of the Knights Hospitaller highlights the fact that endowing crusader institutions in the March could be for personal reasons rather than practical ones, and so we must not always look for the most logical explanation. In fairness to Margaret, there were female members of the Hospitallers, notably at Buckland (Somerset), who usually lived together in larger numbers than their brethren, so in theory the foundation at Aconbury would have been no different.[131] Why Margaret was so concerned that the nuns at her foundation would be affected by this association might suggest that she had reason to think that they might be involved in military activity, perhaps because they lived in the volatile March.

Geoffrey de Marmion's grant of a church, lands, fishery and 'a ferry boat with passage of the Towy' to the Hospitallers at Llanstephan *c.*1160–70 marked the beginning of familial interest in the military orders and the crusades.[132] Bishop Anselm's confirmation of 1230 specifically notes that Marmion's grant was also that of his heirs; William de Camville and his wife Albrea confirmed Geoffrey's grant, as did the subsequent generations of his family who ruled as lords of Llanstephan until 1338.[133] Rees noted that, 'The de Chamvilles were a crusading family: we come across the name repeatedly in the annals of the Holy War.'[134] The genealogy of the Marmion and Camville families is unclear, but it seems that the Camville to whom Rees was referring was Richard de Camville (d. 1191), brother of William de Camville,

[131] Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 84; Nicholson, 'The Sisters' House', 131; Alan Forey, 'Women and the military orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Studia Monastica*, 29 (1987), 70.

[132] 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83.

[133] Ibid.; 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83.

[134] Rees, 'Slebech commandery', 213, n.70.

Geoffrey de Marmion's son-in-law. He went on crusade to the Holy Land via Portugal at the time of the Third Crusade, witnessed Richard I's treaty in Sicily, and was one of the 'men most skilled in warfare' who were given joint regency of Cyprus, before dying at Acre in 1191.[135] In this light it is possible that one Camville brother exhibited his support for the Holy Land by taking the Cross, the other by aiding the Hospitallers.

The greatest number of donations made to the military orders in Wales and the March were to the Knights Hospitaller of Slebech. Welshmen made about a dozen of these grants. The earliest of these was at Benegardon, made by Hanerand (identified by J. Rogers Rees as 'obviously' Anarawd ap Gruffydd ap Rhys, a brother of the Lord Rhys) sometime before 1142; he also gave them the vill of Dolbryfawr.[136] Anarawd ap Gruffydd was ruler of Deheubarth from 1136 to 1143. J. Rogers Rees noted that these donations must have been made before 1143, when Anarawd was murdered by Cadwaladr ap Gruffydd. The 'Muniments of Slebech', however, names him as Anarawd ab Einion, 'prince and lord', who did not die until 1198, and the Cardiff Central Library 4.83 manuscript identifies him as Anarawd, son of Ermani.[137] What does appear to be beyond dispute is that this donor was a Welshman of some standing. When he gave the lands is less certain; if J. Rogers Rees's identification is erroneous and this 'Hanerand' did not die in 1143, it is possible that the grants were made later, perhaps in response to the preaching of the Third Crusade, or in line with the increasing donations made in the 1160s and 1170s.

Welshmen made other grants to the Hospitallers in the same period. Mereduc, William and Rhys, sons of Eugene, granted the order arable lands in Kidwelly in the mid 1140s; these lands were confirmed by Cadwgan ap Gruffydd in 1150,

[135] Richard of Camville remained in Cyprus after Richard I's departure in order to act as one of its governors. *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, pp. 167, 66, n.64, 108, n.58.

[136] 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83; Rees, 'Slebech commandery', 209, n.10.; 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83; *AWR*, p. 79. Pryce notes here that *Dolbrivuar* has not yet been identified.

[137] Maund, *Handlist*, p. 14; 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83.

who then gave the Hospitallers 'totam terram de *Betmenon*'.[138] Before his death in 1170, Meurig ab Addaf (or Adam, Ada), with the consent of William de Braose, granted them St Michael's church at Nantmeulan in Radnorshire.[139] The Lord Rhys granted the land, vill, church and mill of Llanrhystud in the late 1170s, confirming earlier gifts.[140] His involvement with the military orders was only matched by Owain Gwynedd ap Gruffydd, who settled the lands of Moylon and Rhostie on them before his own death in 1170.[141] Sometime before 1198, Einion and Goronwy ap Llywarch granted lands in Swansea to Slebech.[142] The spread of the grants, both in terms of geography and date, show that Welsh support for the Hospitallers of Slebech maintained a certain regularity and consistency. Only one known grant was made in the thirteenth century by a Welshman, Maelgwn ap Maelgwn the Great, who gave the commandery half of his lands in Merthyrkinlas sometime between 1231 and 1241.[143]

The Welsh endowments do not appear to be driven by any personal attachment to these crusader institutions, although the positions of the Lord Rhys and Owain Gwynedd may have made them inclined to support the foundations which were so obviously popular with the Welsh and Cymro-Normans. Though the majority of the Welsh gifts lay in Wales, Bishop Reiner of St Asaph (1186–1225) transferred the property of Oswestry hospital, which he had founded *c.*1200, to the Hospitallers in 1217–18.[144] His interest in supporting the

[138] Ibid. GB 0210, SLEBECH No. 247a; 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83.

[139] Once again the identification of this donor, and therefore the subsequent dating of the grant, is confused. Maund suggests that this is the Meurig of the Buellt line who died in 1170: Maund, *Handlist*, p. 4, Doc. #8. In his list of Slebech donations Rees dates it as *c.*1175–98, after the date of death proposed by Maund: Rees, *History*, p. 115. J. Rogers Rees dates the granting of Nantmeulan to before 1176: Rees, 'Slebech commandery', 204. The 'Confirmation of Bishop Anselm', describes him only as 'Meurig son of Adam': 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83. The gift is difficult to date, as William de Braose (d. 1175) was succeeded by another William de Braose (d. 1211).

[140] Maund, *Handlist*, pp. 12–13; *AWR*, pp. 166–7, 196.

[141] Rees wrongly dates the death of Owen to 1169. Rees, 'Slebech commandery', 205, 206, 213, n.84; Maund, *Handlist*, p. 15; *AWR*, pp. 196–7.

[142] 'Confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83.

[143] 'Confirmation of Bishop Anselm' and 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83; Maund, *Handlist*, p. 15.

[144] *The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, ed. Una Rees (Cardiff, 1985), p. 169.

military orders was not apparent before this point, although he did act as one of the preachers of the Cross during Archbishop Baldwin's tour of 1188, when his interest in supporting crusading could have been first stimulated.[145] None of the Welsh donors is known to have participated in a crusade, although the Lord Rhys made (albeit brief) preparations to embark on crusade in 1188 in response to Baldwin's preaching campaign. Since his grants were probably made in the 1170s, it cannot be said that his subsequent failure to go on crusade had any influence on his decision to endow a crusader institution. By contrast, grants to the Templars were not forthcoming from the Welsh. The strong bond forged between the Templars and the English crown in the twelfth century would have discouraged the Welsh princes from supporting an institution that traditionally supported the English crown.[146] Moreover, the geographical location of the Templar establishments along the border made the choice of supporting the Hospitallers a natural one, for the Welsh did not own estates in close proximity to Garway or Lidley, whereas they owned sufficient amounts, though sometimes only sporadically, in the areas where the Hospitallers of Slebech, Dinmore and Ysbyty Ifan were already establishing estates.

The provision of services of one form or another to their benefactors may have been one of the reasons behind the Welsh support of the Hospitallers. The men who joined or supported the Hospitallers in Wales were concerned as much with problems at home as with those in the Holy Land, and used the Hospitallers as a way of ensuring some degree of safety for their lands. The protection of travellers was, after all, the 'peculiar province' of the Hospitallers, whose foundation at Ysbyty Ifan may have been built in part to protect those travelling along the Chester road.[147] Pennant believed that the aid of the Hospitallers was also desperately needed

[145] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 136–7.

[146] Although the majority of the Knights Templar supporting the English crown did so in a general capacity, such as filling administrative posts, the Scottish master, Brian de Lay, did fight for Edward I in his Scottish Wars after being forced to swear fealty to him in 1296; he died at the battle of Falkirk. Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 84.

[147] J. E. Evans, 'Ysbyty Ifan, or the Hospitallers in Wales', *Arch. Camb.* 6 (1860), 108–9.

in the parish of Carno, a dependency of Halston, to provide 'asylum and guard for travellers' from the 'den of thieves and murderers, who ravaged the country'.[148] Llanrhidian church in Gower, granted to the Hospitallers of Slebech *c.*1167 by William de Turbeville, was 'designed to be used as a refuge for local people against bandits and pirates', and Garway was rebuilt in order to fulfil the same sort of role.[149]

The second reason for supporting the Hospitallers so heavily in Wales was their tradition of hospitality. Hospitality was important as a way of defining status and exhibiting piety in the twelfth- and thirteenth- century Anglo-Norman world; but the Welsh were singled out for their 'commendable hospitality' above all others.[150] Hospitality was, according to Gerald of Wales, a natural trait of the Welsh:

> In Wales no one begs. Everyone's home is open to all, for the Welsh generosity and hospitality are the greatest of all virtues. They very much enjoy welcoming others into their homes. When you travel there is no question of your asking for accommodation or of their offering it: you just march into a house and hand over your weapons to the person in charge. They give you water so that you may wash your feet and that means you are a guest.[151]

The problem of meeting the demands for hospitality in Wales continued throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, leaving one bishop to comment in 1331 that the priory of Clifford was 'situated in the lower parts of Wales where daily a multitude of Welshmen come together to whom hospitality cannot be denied without grave risk'.[152] E. H. Day attributed the large number of servants at Dinmore

[148] Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, II, p. 288.

[149] Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 104.

[150] Julie Kerr, 'The open door: hospitality and honour in twelfth/early thirteenth-century England', *History*, 87 (2002), 324.

[151] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 182–3; Trans. Thorpe, p. 236. Walter Map also commented on the hospitality of the Welsh, although in a less complimentary manner: 'they so punctually observe respect for generosity and hospitality that before the third day no one will ask a guest whom he has taken in, who or whence he is, lest he should be put to shame or seem to be suspected'. Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 182–5.

[152] '. . . sitque idem prioratus in inferioribus partibus Wallie, situatum, ubi cotidie multitudo confluit Wallicorum, quibus hospitalitas requit absque periculis gravibus deregari'. *Registrum Thome de Charlton, episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCXXVII–MCCCXLIV*, ed. William W. Capes (London, 1913), p. 9.

to the provision of hospitality.[153] In 1338, the preceptor of Slebech actually felt compelled to complain that the crowd of Welshmen who poured in 'from day to day' were putting a strain on his resources, so great was the enthusiasm for the hospitality of the order.[154] With open hospitality such a regular feature of Welsh life, it seems that the merit of this aspect of Hospitaller rule was seized upon with vigour, and the order duly supported. The Templars, though not obliged to provide such widespread hospitality, also fulfilled these duties along the Welsh border, where the food bills accrued by feeding travellers amounted to £9 a year for wheat, £11 for corn-malt, and 4*s.* a week on fish and meat, which accounted for the equivalent of half of the income from the lands controlled by Lidley.[155]

IV Patterns of Endowment

Grants in support of the crusader institutions in Wales and the March were at their height in the second half of the twelfth century, most notably in the 1150s and 1180s. The number of surviving charters for Britain suggests an overall increase in Templar support during the 1150s (forty-five charters), but in the 1180s the pattern in Wales and the March was different.[156] Whereas the number of grants made in these areas increased significantly in the 1180s, the number of surviving

[153] E. Hermitage Day, 'The preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Dinmore, co. Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (1927), 61.

[154] *Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, p. 35. The complaint seems exaggerated, as from an income of £307, this hospitality formed only a portion of the £16 spent on personnel and hospitality combined. In the early seventeenth century, George Barlow, the owner of Slebech, noted that in his estate, 'still retaining the name of Beggars' Land, my posterity are in that respect tied, as it were, by a perpetual vow to maintain hospitality at Slebech, as knights Hospitallers formerly did charitably relieve poor people there'. NLW, GB 0210 Slebech, No. 5611.

[155] The Rule of the Templars stated that, 'any worthy man who comes to the palace when the brothers are eating may be invited to eat; and he may be seated at one of the tables in the palace that befit such a man', but did not stretch to the general hospitality extended by the Hospitallers. *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 84; Rees, *History*, p. 52.

[156] The Templars in Yorkshire also received significantly more grants in the 1180s and 1190s, which Burton finds is 'suggestive of some correlation with the crusades'. Burton, 'The Knights Templar', 31.

charters was less than thirty, and this was outnumbered by the volume of grants made in the first third of the thirteenth century.[157] The increase in the 1150s was in all probability a result of the Fall of Ascalon and the Templars' involvement with the city of Gaza. The English increase shown in the 1220s was presumably a response to the Fifth Crusade, although this does not appear to have been matched in Wales and the March, even though Welsh literature shows that during the early thirteenth century there was a greater interest in events in the East. [158] The increase of grants to the Templars in the 1180s in Wales and the March must therefore have had a more specific cause than events in the Latin East, and we need probably look no further than the grants of Richard I, three of which were made to Garway in the 1180s.

The number of grants made to the Hospitallers during the twelfth century peaked for longer than those of the Templars, with the period from 1150 to the end of the 1180s being particularly noticeable for an increase in generosity. This rise, for the most part the product of Cymro-Norman grants, was largely the result of the successful campaigns undertaken in Wales by Henry II. The lands he granted to his followers were quickly redistributed to religious foundations, among them the Hospitallers.[159] This trend is clearly illustrated by the acts of Roger de Clare, who granted lands to the Hospitallers at Cardigan, Homdon, Llansantffraid, Ystradmeurig and Troedyraur in Cardiganshire around 1158.[160] He must have

[157] Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 134.

[158] The Provins cartulary (Provins was a Templar house on the edge of the Champagne region) also reflects a rise in donations in the period of the Fifth Crusade and around the time leading up to the crusade of Richard of Cornwall and Theobald of Champagne. Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1993), p. 58, table 1.

[159] Lands were given away in a similar fashion in eastern Europe, where newly acquired frontier lands were often given to the military orders when there was a surplus of land. In eastern Europe, however, this did not always work in their favour, as in the thirteenth century, when land became scarce, many descendants of the original donors requested that the lands be returned to them. This did not occur in Wales, even after the conquest of 1282, when many of the lands would no longer have lain in disputed areas. See Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, p. 68. The idea of religious ownership securing lands from attack in volatile areas was not unheard of in Wales and the March; in 1212 Llywelyn ap Iorwerth asked several Welshmen to respect the lands of Ratlinghope and Coates. *AWR*, pp. 388–9.

[160] He gave three houses with three carucates of land in Cardigan, the church of

made his patronage of the Hospitallers in Wales a priority; he had himself only been granted lands in Wales by Henry II the year before. These grants by de Clare could have been driven by two motivations, the first the desire to secure these lands by establishing monastic communities on them, and the second a desire to atone for sins accumulated during the conquest by endowing a monastic institution.[161]

The patronage extended to the Knights of St John, especially at Slebech, does not appear to have been overly affected by specific developments in crusading, because grants tailed off in the 1180s and 1190s, when Archbishop Baldwin's tour could have been expected to create a response, and the number of gifts never reached the level they had enjoyed over those three decades. Grants to the military orders declined in any case in the thirteenth century, and never reached the levels they had in the twelfth. In Wales and the March, as in many areas of eastern Europe, donations declined as lands became more settled and the amount of territory available for distribution fell. Disillusionment with continual failures in the crusade movement hardly inspired the faithful to contribute more than they already had, and so grants in the thirteenth century tended to be limited to small parcels of land, or to the confirmation of existing lands and rights.[162]

The endowment of the Hospitallers and Templars in Wales and the March did not occur in isolation from grants to other monastic institutions. Early foundations in Wales, especially of the Benedictines and Cluniacs, 'were seen for what they were – the ecclesiastical accessories of foreign conquest and colonization'.[163] The majority of the monastic foundations in south Wales were established by Anglo-Norman lords, so it is not surprising that most of the gifts to the Hospitallers in Wales came from them too, and it was only the Cistercians who appealed to the Welsh; nine of the thirteen Cistercian houses in Wales were either in Welsh-

Ystradmeurig with four carucates of land, the land of Llansantffraid with five carucates, and other gifts. 'Muniments of Slebech' and 'The confirmation of Bishop Anselm', CCL MS 4.83.

[161] C. Harper-Bill, 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class', *ANS*, 2 (1979), 64–5.

[162] 'Muniments of Slebech', CCL MS 4.83; Rees, *History*, pp. 117–19.

[163] Davies, *Age*, p. 196.

controlled lands, or founded by the Welsh.[164] Support for all monastic foundations in Wales and the March fluctuated over time, and in the thirteenth century there was a decline in benefactions as the popularity of the mendicant orders rose. This was reflected in the diminishing number of gifts to the military orders in the thirteenth century, which, while linked to their inability to maintain a hold on the Holy Land, also echoed a wider phenomenon. In Wales, even the popularity of the Cistercians declined, but while gift-giving was at its peak they were still the favoured monastic institution in Wales. Although the Cistercians were an international order like the Augustinians and Benedictines, they still garnered a considerable degree of Welsh support, perhaps because they provided services, such as burial, for the Welsh that endeared the Cistercians to them. Davies argued that they filled the gap created by the decline of the native *clasau*.[165]

The crusader institutions in Wales and the March had an impact beyond the lands they were granted. They played a role in the financial administration of the region, collecting monies for the crown, from which they were themselves usually exempt. The orders were variously granted freedom from tithes, and often exempted from local taxes, too. In some instances, local tithes were diverted to their own coffers, a fact that could only have alienated Welshmen and men of the March, who were often struggling to pay them. Beyond that, their main aim was to raise money to aid the Holy Land, which they did through a variety of farming, renting and the collection of pensions. For the Templars of the March, this largely meant renting out their small estates in Wales, because they were considered too distant to be effectively controlled from Garway or Lidley. Ninety-five per cent of the Templars' demesne land in Wales was farmed out, in addition to another sixty-three acres for which they received a mixture of rent and labour services.[166] The opposite was true further east in England, where the Templars earned lucrative returns through sheep farming in Gloucestershire and trade in Bristol. The Templars clearly did not earn much from

[164] Ibid., pp. 196–7.
[165] Ibid., p. 196.
[166] Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 114.

their Welsh holdings, their manors and estates being worth less than £10 in 1308.[167] The Templar manor of Llanmadoc collected only 36*s.* 2½*d.* in rents of assize in 1308, and 61*s.* 6*d.* from letting its farm lands instead of demanding labour services.[168] In the same year, the Templar estates of Upleadon and Lidley were worth £32 4*s.* 4*d.* and £44 respectively. This was in line with the amounts earned by foundations belonging to other orders in Wales and the March, which, with the exception of Margam, Neath and Tintern, were relatively poor.[169]

The Hospitallers, in contrast, having more land in Wales and being in a better geographical position to administer it, earned more from their Welsh and border estates than did the Templars. The watermills at Slebech and Minwear brought in a total of 100*s.* per annum, and the fulling-mill at Dinmore 50*s.*[170] In 1338 the church of Llansteffan alone returned £60 to Slebech, whose annual income from rents, churches and other properties was £307 1*s.* 10½*d.* before expenses.[171] Even Ysbyty Ifan collected a frary worth about £25 in a typical year, and another £6 from the church of Penmachno, bringing its totals, when the revenues from other estates are added, to more than that of the 'rich manor' of Upleadon.[172] These rent and income totals suggest that the Hospitallers in Wales and the March were blessed with an easy time, but it would appear that their success came at a price, and the financial impact of the order in Wales flowed both ways. In his report of 1338, Philip de Thame detailed payments of forty shillings each to Richard Penres and Stephan Perot for the protection of Slebech from 'ambushers and malefactors'.[173] This demonstrates that support for the Hospitallers in Wales was not unconditional, for many clearly saw their

[167] Ibid., pp. 132, map 6.3, 133, map 6.4. By contrast it is calculated that estates in Ireland returned £411 and those in Scotland £25 in the same year. Thomas W. Parker, *The Knights Templar in England* (Turson, 1963), p. 39.

[168] William Rees, 'The Templar manor of Llanmadoc', *BBCS*, 13 (1949), 144–5.

[169] In 1291, £255 17*s.* 4 ½*d.*, £236 1*s.* 5*d.* and £145 3*s.* 0*d.* respectively. Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 274.

[170] *Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, pp. 34, 30.

[171] Ibid., pp. 34–5, for Slebech's annual income.

[172] A frary was the contribution paid by a body of voluntary affiliate members of the Order, also known as a frary (hence the name of the payment) or fraternity. *Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, pp. 38–9; Rees, *History*, pp. 65, 67.

[173] *Report of the Prior Philip de Thame*, p. 36.

weaknesses as an opportunity to benefit financially or materially. It also suggests that the motivation of granting lands to the Hospitallers in order to settle volatile, newly conquered lands did not necessarily pay off, for the payment of what amounted to protection money indicates that they had difficulty in defending some of their lands. At the same time, donating lands to the Hospitallers in these areas can be seen as a shrewd move on the part of the donor, who removed the costs of ensuring this protection from his own pocket.

Welsh and Cymro-Norman interest in crusader institutions was not limited to Wales and the March, because the same groups also exercised patronage and became involved with the military orders in Ireland. As in Wales, the Irish Templars were subject to the master of the Templars in England. After the conquest of Ireland in 1169 by Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, and his followers from Wales, these men settled lands on the Templars. The grants were seen, according to Nicholson, 'as a sort of "thank-offering" for the success of the invasion and settlement from Britain'.[174] In 1186, the Cymro-Norman lords established the first Templar preceptory in Ireland, and two years later there followed a Hospitaller commandery. As in Wales, the majority of the lands given to the military orders came from lands dominated by Anglo-Norman settlers, in this case along the eastern coast of Ireland.[175] The land of Templeton in county Carlow was granted to the Templars by the countess of Gloucester 'to David de Pembroke', and forty acres and the advowson of Carlingford church came from Matilda de Lacy of the Herefordshire Lacys.[176] It is hardly surprising that a number of endowments came from those who had originally settled in Wales; Anglo-Welsh immigration continued in the years following the conquest of Ireland and had such an influence that by the fourteenth century St David's Day was being used as the annual renewal date for a lease in Munster.[177]

[174] Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, p. 185.

[175] Lord, *Knights Templar*, p. 138.

[176] Herbert Wood, 'The Templars in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 26 (1907), 364, 367.

[177] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, 1994), p. 273.

More interesting is the fact that Ireland had a Welsh master, whereas Wales itself did not. In 1236 Henry III ordered the arrest of Brother Ralph, master of the Templars, who had abandoned the order. In his stead was appointed Brother Roger de Waleis (the Welshman). Nicholson suggests that Roger could have come from a Cymro-Irish family, although it seems that a policy of appointing 'foreign' Norman, Anglo-Norman or Cymro-Norman masters had been adopted some time before.[178] Roger was preceded by Ralph de Southwark and followed by Herbert de Manchester, Roger de Glastonbury and Thomas de Toulouse. In 1300, a man whose name suggests he was from the March, Peter de Malvern, was chosen to head the Templars in Ireland. Richard de Upleadon was also one of the Templars arrested in Ireland in 1308.[179]

The crusader institutions in Wales and the March were well supported. The Welsh favoured the Hospitallers over the Templars, partly because of the association of the latter with the English crown, and also because the Hospitallers were dedicated to hospitality. The foundation of Ysbyty Ifan shows that the Welsh were not just following the lead of the Normans in patronising establishments, because they were prepared to establish and endow a Hospitaller settlement of their own.

Several settlers in the March, as well as native Welshmen, supported the orders as their ancestors had done; others, such as Gilbert de Lacy, joined the order as well as made grants. In such a volatile landscape as Wales and the March the endowment of both orders was also a way to settle disputed land and help with defence. This was particularly true of royal and settler grants; the king gave the Templars large estates

[178] Helen Nicholson, 'Serving king and the crusade: the military orders in royal service in Ireland, 1220–1400', in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (ed.), *The Experience of Crusading, Vol I: Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 245; Helen Nicholson, 'International mobility versus the needs of the realm: the Templars and Hospitallers in the British Isles in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', in Jochen Burgtorf and Helen Nicholson (eds), *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business* (Cardiff, 2006), p. 93; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. H. S. Sweetman, 5 vols (London, 1875–6), I, p. 336.

[179] Lord, *Knights Templar*, pp. 139, 141.

on the border in the hope of controlling it, and the speed with which newly acquired lands were donated suggests that newcomers were giving lands from what were probably their secondary estates, in the hope of establishing themselves and creating friendly neighbours. In this way the grants in Wales and the March reflected those made in eastern Europe and Ireland. The fact that much of this land was newly acquired in addition to other estates may account for the fact that more grants were made by new Norman settlers than by the Welsh. External as well as internal factors influenced these gifts, for the general increase of these in the 1140s to 1170s suggests that the settlers were responding to events in the Latin East as well as those at home. Nor were these grants limited to Wales and the March, since Welsh connections are evident in the records of the military orders in Ireland, both in the names of the members themselves, and in the nationalities of the donors. Even those who did not contribute would have been affected by the arrival of the Hospitallers and Templars, for in some places they performed the functions of the local church, and in others acted as landlords and employers. Wales and the March were in no way marginalised when it came to the military orders; the extensive grants made to the Hospitallers at Slebech created a very wealthy foundation, comparable with those in England, and the Templar settlement at Garway was particularly large. The support given to both suggests that the natives and settlers were interested in events in the Latin East and in the means used to help those who fought there throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As in England, donation to the Templars and Hospitallers often occurred as an alternative to participation, with those who were perhaps unwilling or unable to go on crusade offering material assistance instead.

V

THE POLITICAL PLACE OF THE CRUSADES IN ANGLO-WELSH RELATIONS[1]

Although the crusades were initially conceived as a way of aiding Christians in the East, it was not long before the ideas of crusading were being used against the enemies of the church in the West. Around 1100, Landulf of Milan likened freeing the church from simoniacs to the crusade, and three years later Robert of Flanders was offered remission of his sins if he fought against the people of Liége.[2] In 1135 the council of Pisa granted crusading indulgences to those who took up arms against the Sicilian King Roger, who was supporting the anti-Pope Anecletus and causing problems for the papacy in southern Italy over the issue of church reform. Although the conflict between the pope and Roger was essentially political, it was raised to the level of a holy war, enabling the papacy to gain more general support for its struggle against the Norman king.[3] Already it was realised that likening struggles against the church's enemies to the crusade, and offering certain benefits, would induce men to fight for the church's cause in Europe. At the same time, the crusade was seen as a way of occupying problematic nobles by sending them to fight the infidel; Thomas Becket's murderers, for instance, were sentenced to spend fourteen years in the Holy Land.[4] Furthermore, the trappings of crusade – recruitment

[1] A large part of this chapter has been published as Kathryn Hurlock, 'Power, preaching and the crusades in Pura Wallia, *c.*1180–*c.*1280', in *Thirteenth Century England 11* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 94–108.

[2] Norman Housley, 'Crusades against Christians: their origins and early development, *c.*1000–1216', in P. W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1985), p. 20. For later developments in political crusading, see Strayer and Rudisill, 'The political crusades of the thirteenth century', pp. 343–75.

[3] Helene Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily, *Rex-Tyrannus,* in twelfth-century political thought', *Speculum*, 38 (1963), 53–4.

[4] Nicholas Vincent, 'The murderers of Thomas Becket', in Natalie Fryde and Dirk Reitz (eds), *Bischofsmond im Mittelalter: Murder of Bishops* (Göttingen, 2003), pp.

initiatives and the collection of money – came to be points of contention that tested the power and authority of those organising them. In 1188, for example, King Philip of France tried to impose the Saladin Tithe on his subjects; the idea met with such vociferous opposition that it had to be abandoned. During the same period the idea of the crusade had been expanded to include attacks against the Wends, east of the Elbe, who, at least as far as Bernard of Clairvaux was concerned, posed almost a greater threat to Christendom than the Saracens in the East.[5] The greatest developments in the diversification of the crusading idea came during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216), with the declaration, in 1199, of both the Livonian Crusade against pagans, and the crusade against Markward of Anweiler who was, in the pope's eyes, interfering in Sicilian politics.[6] Crusades against those who either opposed the wishes of the church or threatened a Christian ruler, even if they were Christians themselves, increased in frequency during the thirteenth century and came to be employed in ways a far cry from the vision of Urban II in 1095.[7]

In Wales, matters were much the same as they were in the rest of Europe. As has been demonstrated, the Welsh were involved in all aspects of the crusading movement, but they were in a unique position, since all the events discussed in previous chapters occurred at a time when Wales was the focus of attempts at conquest from her eastern neighbour. For this reason, the 'trappings' of the crusade became entangled in the volatile relationship between English and Welsh, so that attempts at recruitment and taxation were often seen as an extension of attempts by both Canterbury and the English crown to extend their influence in Wales. This chapter will thus concentrate on how both the archbishops of Canterbury and the kings of England used crusading, in its theoretical, symbolic and material forms, to exert power

248–9. For a brief discussion of the use of crusading in this way, see Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 94–5.

[5] Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (London, 1997), p. 53.

[6] Elizabeth Kennan, 'Innocent III and the first political crusade: a comment on the limitations of papal power', *Traditio*, 27 (1971), 231–49.

[7] Strayer and Rudisill, 'The political crusades', p. 347.

and authority in Wales. It will consider how a power struggle developed between the time of the first systematic attempts to recruit the Welsh for crusade, in 1188, and 1282, when Archbishop Pecham offered the crusade as a way of ending the conflict in Gwynedd between Edward I and the Welsh princes. It also places these developments in the context of the Welsh response and the changing role of the papacy in the controversy over supremacy. The way in which references to Jerusalem and crusading were depicted in Welsh saints' lives will then be considered as part of the struggle for supremacy, for resistance to the claims of Canterbury were often rooted in historical claims to independence at the time of the saints. Finally, the chapter will examine how the organisation of the collection of money for the crusade reflected the way in which the links between English and Welsh churches were perceived, primarily by those organising collection.

The use of crusade propaganda, organisation and control in the power struggles between both different lands and between ruler and subject was common in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Sophia Menache argues that the idea of the crusade was used to 'legitimise the process of state-building' and to exert control, the authority of the crusade lending weight and justification to decisions made by secular bodies.[8] This was the situation that appears to have arisen in Ireland in the mid twelfth century, when the English Pope Adrian IV is supposed to have issued a bull, *Laudabiliter*, granting Ireland to Henry II 'in order to subject the people to the laws and to extirpate the vices that have there taken root'.[9] John of Salisbury, a man with 'neither the character nor the motive to falsify his evidence', wrote in 1159 that pope Adrian had 'granted and given Ireland to the king', and that a ring had been sent with the grant.[10] The

[8] Menache, *The Vox Dei*, p. 176.

[9] For the full text of the alleged bull, see *Opera*, V (*Topographica Hibernica*), pp. 317–18.

[10] John Watts, *The Church in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), p. 32; *Ioannis Saresberiensis, Metalogicon*, iv, ed. J. B. Hall and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *CCM*, 98 (Brepols, 1991), p. 183; Anne Duggan, 'Totius Christianus caput: the Pope and the princes', in B. Bolton and Anne J. Duggan (eds), *Adrian IV, The English Pope, 1154–59* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 141.

authenticity of the bull has been much disputed, and it was not referred to when Ireland was conquered fifteen years later; Gerald of Wales claimed, however, that this bull was assented to, together with a new bull from Pope Alexander III, at a synod in Waterford in 1174.[11] Whilst the invasion of Ireland was not a crusade in the strictest sense (it was 'something rather like one', according to John France), elements of crusade ideology were used to justify it in *Laudabiliter*, suggesting that the use of crusade in conquest was already familiar to Henry II.[12] In his *Murder and Miracles* of Thomas Becket, William of Canterbury, clearly dissatisfied with the way things were going in Ireland, complained that Henry was acting 'without cause'; Marcus Bull suggests that his choice of word (*sine causa*) 'is a deliberate inversion on his part of a royal appropriation of the language of Just War'.[13] If Henry had not employed these ideas in the first place, William of Canterbury's criticism would not have been as effective. When, in 1172, Alexander III confirmed the grant of Ireland made by pope Adrian, he stated:

> the barbarous nation which is called by the Christian name, may through your clemency attain unto some decency of manners; and that when the Church of that country which has been hitherto in a disordered state, shall have been reduced to better order, that people may by your means possess for the future the reality as well as the name of the Christian profession.[14]

The situation in Wales was not dissimilar to that in Ireland, though there is no record of any papal bull, genuine or otherwise, sanctioning conquest. Instead, the machinery of the crusade movement was employed more subtly to reinforce the power of the metropolitan see of Canterbury. Although Baldwin's tour in 1188 was aimed at promoting the crusade message, it also offered him an opportunity to

[11] Aubrey Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, ed. Gerard O'Brien (Dublin, 1992), p. 299; *Opera*, V (*Topographica Hibernica*), pp. 315–16.

[12] John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (London, 2004), p. 144.

[13] Marcus Bull, 'Criticism of Henry II's expedition to Ireland in William of Canterbury's miracles of St Thomas Becket', *Journal of Medieval History*, 33 (2007), 126.

[14] *Opera*, V (*Topographica Hibernica*), pp. 317–19.

demonstrate his own power over the Welsh dioceses while on business that the Welsh could hardly oppose without earning the censure of the pope himself. The crusade theme could also be used 'as a propaganda weapon . . . against enemies of the crown at any time and any place'.[15] In England, this was clearly seen in 1215–17 and 1263–5, when the papacy lent its support to the king in crusading terms.[16] In Wales, its use was not as unequivocal, but it was employed, nonetheless, as a way of ending conflict and removing potential problems that faced the English crown, as will be demonstrated in the cases of Archbishops Baldwin and Pecham.

I The Preaching Tour of 1188

The journey through Wales to recruit crusaders in 1188 has already been considered in chapter 2. Here, the role of the visit of the archbishop to Wales is considered in the context of the developing relationship between Canterbury and the bishoprics of Wales. Archbishop Baldwin's preaching tour was largely undertaken 'in the service of the Cross' to encourage support for the Third Crusade.[17] Although the motives of both the archbishop and Henry II in launching the tour were complex, one of the king's aims in promoting the crusade in Wales was no doubt to counteract the problems posed by the Welsh leaders opposed to the king; the fact that the archbishop was accompanied by Ranulf de Glanville at the beginning of the tour suggests that it had a more than ecclesiastical aim; once the preaching tour was on its way he left the archbishop's entourage and returned to England, having done nothing to contribute to the recruitment effort.[18] Despite the good personal connection between Henry II and the Lord Rhys, the relationship between the

[15] Ibid., p. 189.

[16] By the autumn of 1216, the papacy was calling those who helped to defend the king 'crucesignatus', and Urban IV allowed Guy Fulquois to preach a crusade against the rebels in the 1260s if it was felt necessary. For a full discussion of these political crusades, see Lloyd, '"Political crusades" in England, *c.*1215–17 and *c.*1263–5', esp. pp. 115–16.

[17] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 13. For a more detailed analysis of the other motivations behind the tour, see chapter 2, pp. 61–7, in this volume.

[18] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 14, 16.

English crown and the southern principality of Deheubarth was still highly volatile: only the year before, Maelgwn ap Rhys, lord of Ceredigion, had attacked and burned Tenby in the southern March. By touring Wales, Baldwin would, it was hoped, recruit troublesome Welsh nobles, who could be distracted by fighting in the East.[19]

Archbishop Baldwin saw the recruitment tour as an expression of power.[20] Since Archbishops Lanfranc (1070–89) and Anselm (1093–1109) had claimed authority for the whole of Britain, Canterbury had been trying to reinforce its position over St David's, by claiming that the bishops of St David's and Llandaff had been consecrated at Canterbury since the tenth century; Davies described this 'single Britain' as 'an ecclesiastical dream'.[21] Those asserting the authority of St David's, like Gerald of Wales, later countered this by claiming that until the Welsh St Samson had fled to the monastery of Dol in Brittany in the sixth century, St David's had claimed metropolitan status.[22] As part of their efforts to conquer Wales, the Normans focused on the Welsh church, which differed from their own through the saints it revered and the practices it allowed. One of the easiest ways was to appoint Norman bishops to vacant sees in Gwynedd, Deheubarth and Glamorgan. In 1092, William Rufus had imposed his nominee at Bangor. By the time of Baldwin's tour, all of the bishops had been chosen by the English king, or had

[19] Securing peace was paramount if Richard was to go on crusade. However, it seems that securing a truce was not necessarily part of Baldwin's remit, as others seem to have been charged with organising a temporary peace for the duration of the crusade. Richard of Devizes wrote that before Richard left on crusade, he 'accepted a pledge from the petty kings of the Welsh and the Scots that whilst he was on pilgrimage they would not cross their borders to do harm to the English'. *Chronicon Richardi Divisensis*, p. 7; Trans. Thorpe, p. 75.

[20] Huw Pryce suggests that he also saw it as an expression of power over the Welsh princes whose marriages were not always acceptable to the church. Pryce, 'Gerald's journey through Wales', 25; *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 126–7, 142; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 186, 200.

[21] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, I (Oxford, 1869; repr. 1964), p. 208; Davies, *Age*, p. 189; Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, pp. 27–8; R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford, 2000), p. 37.

[22] Trans. Thorpe, p. 18; *La Vie Ancienne de Saint Samson de Dol*, ed. and trans. Pierre Flobert (Paris, 1997), p. 223; Brooke, 'The archbishops of St Davids, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', p. 209.

been consecrated in England, but Wales was still not fully conquered, and dispute over the supremacy of Canterbury still raged.[23] In the late 1120s the chapter of St David's began once again to claim metropolitan status for their see, and in 1140 Meurig, the newly elected bishop of Bangor, refused to do homage to the English king.[24] Metropolitan claims were renewed in 1148 and in 1179 at the Third Lateran Council, but to no avail.[25] The situation in Wales was difficult: Norman incumbents were not, for instance, favourably received in Gwynedd. Roger of Howden noted that, in 1175, the hostility of the Welsh was so great that the bishop of St Asaph wished to give up his bishopric.[26]

Thus, in 1188, Baldwin celebrated Mass at each of the Welsh cathedrals, Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph and St David's, in an effort to press home, in a clear and visible manner, the full extent of his claims, and to give a public demonstration of the range of his power and influence.[27] The primary reason for his visit to Wales may have been to spread the message of the Cross, but it also gave him the perfect pretext for making his presence felt in the main seats of Welsh religion. It was clear that the churchmen he met on this tour were aware of Baldwin's intentions. The canons of St David's, for example, objected to the proposed visit of the archbishop to their cathedral, and:

> Jealous of the interests of their own church, used every argument they could think of to persuade him [the Lord Rhys] to refuse to allow the Archbishop of Canterbury to continue his journey into the interior of Wales, and more especially, for until then such a thing had been quite unheard of, to visit St. Davids itself.[28]

[23] Gwion of Bangor at Amesbury, May 1177; William de Salso Marisco (Saltmarsh) of Llandaff and Reiner of St Asaph at Lambeth, 10 August 1186; and Peter de Leia of St Davids at Canterbury, November 1176. M. J. Pearson, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066–1300: Volume 9, The Welsh Churches* (London, 2003), pp. 2, 14, 24, 46.

[24] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, p. 345. Although Bernard renewed the claim, he died before he could present it to the council at Reims; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. 9, p. 2.

[25] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, p. 352; Charles Duggan, 'From the Conquest to the death of John', in C. H. Lawrence (ed.), *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1999), p. 102.

[26] *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, I, pp. 90–1.

[27] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 45. For the practical benefits of addressing an audience in these locations, see chapter 2, pp. 63–7, in this volume.

[28] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 15; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 76–7.

The response of the canons to the archbishop's visit was clearly intended as an illustration of the way in which St David's sought independence from Canterbury.

It is interesting to note that the section referring to the canons of St David's was not included in Gerald's first version of the *Itinerarium*, but was incorporated in the second recension, written in 1197, once the issue of the status of St David's had occupied his attention.[29] Gerald attributed Baldwin's decision to celebrate Mass at the four cathedrals to 'an attempt to encourage people to take the Cross'.[30] Although the demonstration of his ecclesiastical power was not Baldwin's only concern, it is clear that his visitation of the four cathedrals was conceived in parallel to his crusade preaching. Although reference is made to the preaching of the Cross in Gerald's accounts of Baldwin's visits to Llandaff and Bangor, it appears that the archbishop failed to preach the Cross in either St David's or St Asaph. In St David's he celebrated Mass, but he left the duty of preaching the Cross to Gerald while he rushed to meet the Lord Rhys, and in St Asaph no record is known of anyone preaching the crusade message, or of people assuming the Cross. It is possible that time constraints in St David's, and an already successful preaching campaign by Bishop Reiner in the diocese of St Asaph, made crusade preaching there unnecessary, but it seems strange that Baldwin passed the opportunity to address what would have undoubtedly been a sizeable congregation if his main aim was to recruit them for crusading. Although by preaching the Cross Baldwin would have been contributing to his attempt to exert authority over the Welsh church, his failure to do so, coupled with his determination to celebrate Mass before hurrying away, shows that crusade preaching was second on his list of priorities, behind the celebration of Mass.[31]

[29] Trans. Thorpe, p. 275.

[30] Ibid., p. 164.

[31] Celebrating Mass would have been one of Baldwin's most important duties as a churchman, but as the aim of his tour was crusade recruitment, his decision to put preaching the Cross second to the Mass suggests that he did not necessarily see recruitment as the most important aspect of his visit to Wales.

The inclusion of a visit to Llanddewibrefi in Gerald's *Itinerarium* is of particular interest in terms of Canterbury's attempts to exert its authority over the Welsh church. It was here that a synod was held to suppress the Pelagian heresy. Pelagius was a fourth-century Briton whose beliefs were declared heretical in 417.[32] His preaching, although centred on the concept that man possessed free will (as opposed to events being predetermined by God), has been seen as a protest against political tyranny, although as they centred on religious beliefs they challenged the church more than the Roman state.[33] The Pelagian heresy, focusing on the idea of free will, removed part of the need for the intercession of the Church of Rome and thus impinged on its power in provinces where the heresy was adhered to. According to legend, the ground on which St David stood when he preached against Pelagius at Llanddewibrefi rose up into a mound, so that the assembled crowd could hear him. It was here that St David was elected archbishop, and the metropolitan seat of the archbishopric was transferred from Caerleon to St David's.[34] Gerald's decision to include Llanddewibrefi in his description of Baldwin's tour appears to have been done in order to underline the way in which the archbishop was asserting his authority over the Welsh church. Firstly, Gerald says that the archbishop's party travelled from Lampeter to Strata Florida, and then doubled back on themselves to Llanddewibrefi before continuing to the coast. It is possible he confused the geography of the area when writing about this part of the tour, but if he did not, and the party did indeed double back on itself to go to Llanddewibrefi, it could suggest that a visit to Llanddewibrefi was of such import that it warranted the effort.[35] Secondly, Gerald does not mention

[32] Pelagius's origins are unclear. Myres believed he came from 'the lowland civilized zone' of Britain. J. N. L. Myres, 'Pelagius and the end of Roman rule in Britain', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 50 (1960), 21. He is sometimes identified as Irish or Welsh, although this is probably because of the popularity his heresy enjoyed in these areas.

[33] Ibid., 26; Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London, 1981), p. 53. This theory was in part supported by the later works of Pelagians who seemed to be attacking the brutality of the *Theodosian Code*. Myres, 'Pelagius', 27.

[34] *Itin. Kam.*, pp. 119–20 ; Trans. Thorpe, p. 179.

[35] I am grateful to Professor Huw Pryce for his comments on the visit of the preaching tour to Llanddewibrefi.

that the archbishop preached the Cross there, although he uses the opportunity of mentioning Llanddewibrefi in order to explain the events at the Synod of Brefi. At the time he was writing the *Itinerarium* Gerald was not concerned with pressing for the metropolitan rights of St David's, so it seems unlikely that he included this information in order to bolster the claims of the bishopric; this appears to have been the case with the reference to the canons of St David's. Instead, it seems that Gerald, and indeed the archbishop, were concerned with showing that the archbishop had visited a site so important to the Welsh Church in order to demonstrate Canterbury's power in the area. Whether he preached there or not would not necessarily have been the point; the very idea of Baldwin standing on the same mound where St David had once preached would have been a powerful symbol of his influence over the church in Wales.

When the preaching tour reached Anglesey, Gerald tells us of the trouble Baldwin had in recruiting members of Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd's household for his cause:

> The Archbishop gave a sermon, and so did Alexander, the local Archdeacon, who acted as our interpreter, and Seisyll, Abbot of Strata Florida. Many of the common people were persuaded to take the Cross. A band of youths who formed part of Rhodri's household sat on a rock facing us. The Archbishop addressed them personally . . . not one of them could be persuaded.[36]

The fact that he singled them out for attention suggests that he particularly wished for their participation, perhaps for the military skills they could provide. Three days later, after some were killed and others injured pursuing some local thieves, the surviving youths had a change of heart. Their initial refusal, however, showed that not everyone was easily persuaded by the archbishop, and that only fear that they were being punished by God led them to take the Cross. Although they changed their minds, they had already demonstrated that they were unimpressed by both the arch-

[36] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 126; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 185–6. The Rhodri referred to is Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd. It is also possible that their lack of enthusiasm was determined by their attitude towards the archbishop, for which see chapter 2, pp. 70–3, in this volume.

bishop's authority and his preaching; it seems that it was fear that their refusal had offended God, and not the archbishop, that persuaded them to join the crusade.

These youths were not the only Welshmen left unmoved by the archbishop: Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Powys, refused to meet Baldwin and was duly excommunicated. Owain was in fact on good terms with the English king, with whom he joked and feasted at Shrewsbury, he was fluent in English and mixed in English border society.[37] His refusal to meet the archbishop can be seen as a snub to both the crusade mission and Baldwin's authority. This does not necessarily mean that Owain was not interested in crusading. Baldwin's tour did not pass through any of his lands, Tegeingl in the north having been conquered by Gwynedd in 1165, and so he did not have to act as host and guide as Rhys and Gruffydd did.[38] It is possible that his failure to attend on the archbishop had more to do with his relationship with the other Welsh princes, than with either Baldwin or Henry II. Although in previous years Owain had allied himself with other princes, from the 1170s onwards he linked himself to the English king in order to obtain support for his dominance in southern Powys.[39] Gerald himself tells us that Owain 'frequently opposed the plans of his own leaders and had espoused the cause of Henry II'.[40]

In his attempt to commend the efforts of the archbishop, and to highlight his own skill and success in recruiting men for the crusade, Gerald of Wales created the impression that all the Welsh princes (apart from Owain Cyfeiliog) eagerly took the Cross. The heads of the dynasties of Gwynedd, Deheubarth and Powys enthusiastically met Baldwin, but only three took the Cross. Of these three men, two were

[37] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 145; Trans. Thorpe, p. 203.

[38] *BT. RBH.*, p. 145. He may also have been more concerned with controlling his own lands than with becoming involved with the tour. See chapter 2, p. 87, in this volume.

[39] *BT. Pen.*, pp. 63, 73; *BT. RBH.*, pp. 144–5, 170–1. Relations between Owain and the other princes had been notably strained in the twenty years preceding the archbishop's visit. In 1167, he was attacked by Owain and Cadwaladr ap Gruffydd and the Lord Rhys, the latter of whom he was forced to submit to in 1171. Ibid., pp. 149, 153.

[40] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 144; Trans. Thorpe, pp. 202–3.

from minor dynasties, and the other, the Lord Rhys, was soon dissuaded by his wife. Rhys's son Maelgwn lent his support to Baldwin, but even then, it was only to 'accompany the archbishop to the king's court, and that once there he would abide by their advice'.[41] Gerald's suggestion of enthusiasm among the leading Welshmen was overstated, and it appears to have been somewhat superficial. Their lack of commitment is notable when it is considered that they would have formed Baldwin's target audience – fighting men who posed a problem for the English crown, and whose participation would spur the recruitment of other Welshmen. Spending time in the archbishop's entourage should have left them open to repeated efforts at recruitment, yet Baldwin seems to have had little success. It therefore seems most likely that their presence in Baldwin's train was more a way of keeping check on the ambitions of the English secular and ecclesiastical powers in Wales while affording the archbishop the respect he could expect while touring these lands, and not a response to the preaching of the Cross itself.

Princely resistance to the encroachment of English ecclesiastical power in Wales often showed itself in disputes over the appointment of English bishops to Welsh sees, and did not notably refer to the conflict over the status of St David's.[42] This was not the picture painted by Gerald of Wales, who suggested that they were involved in the St David's case, and claimed that all of the princes except Owain Cyfeiliog supported the claims of St David's.[43] It is possible that a letter sent to Innocent III complaining of the appointment of English bishops and referring to the elevated status of St David's revealed the views of the princes, but since the letter was probably drafted by Gerald of Wales and it is uncertain whether the princes approved its contents, its evidence is not conclusive.[44]

[41] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 119; Trans. Thorpe, p. 179.

[42] This often involved installing Englishmen even when the sees had not fallen vacant, such as at Llandaff and St David's. Davies, *Age*, pp. 179–80.

[43] *Autobiography*, p. 250. Gruffydd ap Cynan, despite his dispute over the appointment of Bishop Hervé, still described Bangor as a daughter of Canterbury when writing to the archbishop ('quia filia est vestre matris ecclesie'). *AWR*, pp. 492–3.

[44] See ibid., pp. 368–71, for the text of the letter and a discussion of its authenticity.

Support for the archbishop was not only weak among the majority of the Welsh princes. It was also minimal among the Welsh nobility, as was seen at Anglesey, and the Welsh clergy. Although most were not as outwardly hostile as the canons of St David's, there was a decided lack of enthusiasm and aid from the religious of Wales. Even though the majority of the bishops supported the cause through preaching and offering hospitality, Gwion of Bangor, a Welshman, was opposed to crusade participation and had to be initially forced into taking the Cross.[45] Those who did support Baldwin appear to have been of Norman origin, with the exception of Seisyll, abbot of Strata Florida. The places the preachers chose to stay each night were also predominantly Norman-held, or in the lands of the friendly Lord Rhys: Cruker, Hay, Usk, Haverfordwest and Carmarthen castles appear to have been in Norman hands, and Margam abbey was a Norman foundation.[46] Even at Nevern castle, in the lands of the Lord Rhys, their host was the Norman Robert FitzMartin, lord of Cemais, who had married Rhys's daughter, Angharad.

This did not mean that the princes were uninterested in crusading, as the enthusiasm of Rhys shows, but the power struggle and hostility that had characterised Wales and the March for the previous century would have made it impossible to separate the problems of the past from a genuine desire to go on crusade. This situation was not peculiar to 1188, for throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the relationship between the king and the rulers of Wales, as well as that between the Welsh and men along the March, meant that the decision to join in a common enterprise was considered against a background of continuing antagonism. Thus, while the princes and leading men extended a measure of hospitality to the archbishop, and encouraged and supported others who were willing to go, for many of them the reality of embarking on a crusade was never going to materialise. They saw that the tour was partly aimed at reminding them of the authority of the king, and responded

[45] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 125; Trans. Thorpe, p. 185.

[46] Although Gerald does not always clearly state in his text where the preaching party stayed each night, it is possible to determine where they are likely to have been lodged.

accordingly. In addition, the internal politics of the principalities made departure for many of the princes difficult. Although attending on the archbishop was a way of assessing English intentions in Wales, it was also an opportunity for the Welsh princes to monitor what their rivals were doing. It is worth remembering that throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Welsh princes were to be found fighting each other as often as they were the English crown or the marcher lords.

The reasons for the differing reactions in north and south Wales had a lot to do with the power, authority and control that Henry II exerted in the different parts of the country. In the south, the Normans had conquered the lands now known as *Marchia Wallia* relatively early, and their influence was prevalent. The Lord Rhys of Deheubarth was Henry II's Justiciar in south Wales, and he met the archbishop in Radnor at the start of the tour, and later in Cardigan. With the exception of the canons of St David's, Baldwin's message was favourably received in the south, and Rhys himself took the Cross before his wife dissuaded him from the venture.[47] The situation north of the Dyfi, where English influence was weaker, was not so enthusiastic. Gruffydd ap Cynan, a prince of Gwynedd, failed to greet Baldwin until the day after he crossed the river Dyfi into Merionnydd, 'humbly and devoutly begging the archbishop's pardon for having been so slow to do so'.[48] Keeping the archbishop waiting for a day may have been part of a deftly crafted act of symbolic defiance, which showed that he took exception to the archbishop's visit to his lands; Gruffydd's apology on arrival then showed his commitment to the mission, and eased his relationship with the archbishop; the snub had, after all, already been given. In this way, he succeeded in both supporting the crusade message behind the tour, and registering his exception at the archbishop's intrusion.

The church was also more closely linked with England in the southern diocese. At the beginning of the twelfth century, both Llandaff and St David's had received bishops

[47] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 15; Trans. Thorpe, p. 76.
[48] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 123; Trans. Thorpe, p. 182.

who were influential and successful in bringing the church in Wales closer to both Rome and Canterbury; it was Urban of Llandaff who set the precedent by being the first Welsh bishop to profess obedience to Canterbury in 1107.[49] Although the appointees to the northern bishoprics of Bangor and St Asaph had professed obedience to Canterbury by the time of the tour, in the previous century the bishops' influence in Gwynedd had been somewhat limited, largely because the Welsh princes controlled the bishoprics and strongly resented the imposition of the king's nominees.[50] This was essentially due to the authority of Owain Gwynedd; he resented what Walker called 'the strains of double allegiance' by which the bishops gave divided loyalty to himself and the English king, and he sought to control the bishopric of Bangor through the appointment of his own nominees, one of whom he threatened to have consecrated in Ireland.[51] In 1177, seven years after Owain's death, a bishop was finally appointed, but even then he was a Welshman. In the diocese of St Asaph, matters were little different, for Bishop Geoffrey chose to exercise his influence from Abingdon rather than live with the hostile Welsh.[52] Bishop Reiner was finally appointed two years before the archbishop undertook his tour, but decades of absentee bishops and ineffectual leadership meant that in the northern principality the bishops did not have the influence they perhaps enjoyed in St David's and Llandaff.

In addition, the south had a more mixed population, many of whom would have been open to Baldwin's proposition in a way that the native Welsh population was not. The Norman settlers are specifically mentioned as forming a large proportion of the archbishop's audience at Llandaff.[53]

[49] David Walker, 'The Welsh Church in the Middle Ages', in David Walker (ed.), *A History of the Church in Wales* (Penarth, 1976), pp. 28–9; for Urban's career, and especially his dealings with Rome and Canterbury, see David Crouch, 'Urban: first Bishop of Llandaff 1107–34', *JWEH*, 6 (1989), 1–15.

[50] Michael Richter (ed.), *Canterbury Professions* (Torquay, 1973), pp. 54 #110, 56 #123.

[51] Walker, 'The Welsh Church', p. 27.

[52] The absentee rule of successive bishops of St Asaph is put in context in Paul Barbier, *The Age of Owain Gwynedd* (London, 1908), pp. 122–3.

[53] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 67 ; Trans. Thorpe, p. 126.

At Haverfordwest, where Gerald claimed that he had his greatest success, a large percentage of the audience would undoubtedly have been of Flemish descent; the Flemings had settled in Haverfordwest at the beginning of the twelfth century, and maintained a large measure of control in the area.[54] As such, the Anglo-Norman and Flemish settlers would have provided a measure of support for Archbishop Baldwin, even if the Welsh greeted his arrival with less enthusiasm. In Gwynedd Welsh resistance was at its strongest, and any attempt by the English crown or the archdiocese of Canterbury to exert authority would not have been favourably received.

The exhumation of Owain Gwynedd's body from Bangor cathedral contributed towards the poor response that the archbishop and his party received in north Wales.[55] Owain had been excommunicated and his body should not have been interred in the cathedral, so Baldwin was within his rights to demand that it be removed. In the context of the relationship between Canterbury and the church in Wales, however, this request may have been seen as just another example of Canterbury's determination to control the Welsh. Baldwin knew it was a sensitive issue – according to Gerald of Wales, Baldwin 'ordered [the Bishop of Bangor] to watch for an opportunity of removing his body from the cathedral and to do so as quickly as possible' – but if he had been truly sensitive to Welsh feeling he would have waited before making the request, perhaps until he returned to England.[56] In this instance, it appears that his desire to highlight the failings of the Welsh episcopacy outweighed his need to attract Welsh crusaders, but perhaps with good cause. The belief that God would reward the efforts of the crusaders only if they were pure of heart and adhered to canon law meant that the enforcement of the law regarding the burial of excommunicates would have been a necessary part of the preparations for the crusade.

[54] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 93 ; Trans. Thorpe, p. 141.

[55] The offence this would have caused potential crusaders is discussed in chapter 2 of this volume.

[56] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 133; Trans. Thorpe, p. 192.

Although, as demonstrated, little is known about the contents of either Baldwin's or Gerald's speeches, it is most likely that the archbishop would have been responsible for spreading the decrees of the Third Lateran council and the messages contained in *Audita Tremendi*, the papal bull that launched the Third Crusade.[57] In addition to the usual messages of penitence, right intent and the opportunity of the crusade, the *Audita Tremendi* mentioned the need for peace throughout Europe if the crusade was undertaken. To those who were unwilling to take the Cross, Baldwin would undoubtedly have preached the message of peace for the duration of the crusade, thus hopefully preventing the outbreak of war during Henry II's projected absence. This was not the only time that the archbishop of Canterbury was able to use the call for crusade to try to prevent Anglo–Welsh hostilities. In May 1236, Pope Gregory IX wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, calling on him to 'compel Lewelin, lord of Wales, to observe the truce made between him and king Henry, according to the pope's orders that there should be peace throughout the world for four years, for the sake of the Holy Land'.[58]

Calling for peace at a time of crusade was nothing new, and it certainly was not peculiar to Wales.[59] It was, in its most basic form, an extension of the Peace and Truce of God movement, and theoretically allowed men to go on crusade without having to worry about the lands they left behind. The council at Clermont had called for peace when Urban II launched the First Crusade, and subsequent Lateran Councils had requested peace throughout Christendom. Gregory's call for a cessation of hostilities in 1236 was not, however, directed specifically against Llywelyn; it was part of a general papal campaign for peace that had been growing since the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. In 1224, for example, the French king was asked to maintain a truce with

[57] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, II, pp. 211–25. See chapter 2, p. 77, in this volume, for the Third Crusade and the messages of the preachers.

[58] *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Lucien Avary, 4 vols (Paris, 1907), II, #3134.

[59] Peace and the end of any form of hostility (including piracy) were included as part of the decrees of Lateran IV. See *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 267–71.

England for the sake of the Holy Land, and in 1231 Henry III was asked to do the same in return.[60]

II The Crusades and the Conquest of Wales, 1282

Baldwin's tour was not a triumph in terms of recruitment or of extending authority over Wales; Gerald claimed that 3,000 men took the Cross in Wales, but lack of finance and delays caused by arguments among the leaders prevented most from taking part in the crusade.[61] His efforts to enlist the Welsh princes proved fruitless, not least because his attempts to impose authority were often executed tactlessly. Despite these shortcomings, it was important in laying the groundwork for the offer which Archbishop Pecham made to Dafydd ap Gruffydd in 1282. This episode is well documented, with both Pecham's proposal and a note of Dafydd's reply surviving. Although the episode has been considered in the context of peace-brokering in Europe and the Welsh War of 1282, it has not been placed in a longer chronological context.[62] If Baldwin's attempts to remove troublesome Welshmen, by sending them on crusade, were hidden by his more general requests for aid, Pecham's was far more direct.

In the autumn of 1282, despite Edward I's opposition, Pecham wrote to both Dafydd and his brother Llywelyn offering them terms of surrender. To Llywelyn, he offered land and an earldom. To Dafydd, he proposed the idea of going on crusade to the Holy Land, where he would 'be provided for in favourable terms according to his status, on condition that he does not return unless called by the royal court's mercy he is called back'. Pecham ended by saying that during his absence he would 'subdue at his will for the Welsh, every danger that threatened them'.[63] Pecham's stated aim may have been to end the conflict in Gwynedd, but his

[60] Ibid., pp. 98, 127.

[61] *Itin. Kam.*, p. 147; Trans. Thorpe, p. 205.

[62] Björn Weiler, 'The *Negotium Terrae Sanctae* in the political discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215–1311', *The International History Review*, 25 (2003), 1–36; Davies, *Age*, pp. 351–2.

[63] *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. Charles Trice Martin, 3 vols (London, 1884), II, p. 467.

attitude to the Welsh was more complex than that, and his offer to Dafydd was not simply the result of his desire to end the bloodshed. Pecham wanted greater control of the four dioceses, and wanted them reformed in line with the church in England; as Douie put it, Pecham, 'desirous of consolidating his own authority over the Welsh dioceses, could only regard the complete English conquest of Wales as a blessing to both peoples'.[64] His attitude towards the Welsh was clear within two years after Edward completed his conquest. In 1284, Pecham toured Wales, once again to reinforce the authority of Canterbury, but also to show the superiority of English to Welsh, whose children, he suggested, should be sent to England in order to be educated.[65]

In 1282, Dafydd's response was less than favourable. The archbishop was told:

> When he will wish to go to the Holy Land, this he will do voluntarily after taking a vow for God, and not for men. Induced against his will, he will not be sent to foreign lands for God, for which forced slavery God will be further displeased. And if he assists of his own accord to go to the Holy Land, commanded by good wishes, he and his heirs should not be disinherited; on the contrary they should obtain a reward. Moreover, he says that his first duty is to defend his own inheritance, rights, and liberties, and that it is the king makes war for profit, and invaded the lands of our country . . . and for this they believe that their war is just, and hope that God will wish to help them.[66]

Perhaps Dafydd should have taken the Cross in order to gain papal support against Edward I. In 1215, King John had done so to secure Innocent III's aid in his dispute with the barons, who were supported by Louis of France; he gained temporal as well as spiritual benefits, and the barons faced excommunication if they interfered with John's declared intention to crusade.[67] Admittedly, this did not deter the barons, since they were fully aware of what John was trying to do, but it

[64] Decima L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952), p. 236.

[65] David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: The Penguin History of Britain, 1066–1284* (London, 2004), p. 513.

[66] *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, II, p. 471.

[67] Lloyd, '"Political crusades" in England, *c.*1215–17 and *c.*1263–5', p. 114. By the time John took the Cross, a truce had already been agreed with Philip Augustus of France, and so it seems that his decision in March 1215 was a response to the threat of domestic unrest supported by the French, and not foreign invasion itself. *Selected*

did buy him some time: the respites he gained as a crusader proved valuable in his dealings with the barons. Henry III also used the crusade in this way: in 1250, he had taken the Cross in order to reinforce his position against the crusader King Louis IX, and in 1254 agreed to take part in Alfonso's African crusade as a way of maintaining Anglo–Castilian relations.[68] The crusade was to be invoked by both sides, too, in Henry III's dispute with Simon de Montfort. So why did Dafydd not take the Cross? Admittedly, the proposition put to him by Pecham would have left Dafydd in the Near East at the king's mercy, but he could, like John and Henry, have taken the Cross and then never set out for the East. Dafydd probably thought that the dispute with Edward would end in a truce, as it had in the past; it is highly doubtful that he envisaged the gruesome fate that awaited him, for hanging, drawing and quartering had not been used before as a punishment handed down as the result of a state trial.[69] It is most likely that Dafydd could see Pecham's offer for what it was, namely a way of removing him from Gwynedd while the English king conquered his lands and disinherited him. Dafydd was unlikely to leave if it meant that he would suffer such losses at home.[70] The archbishop may have promised to 'suppress . . . all dangers that are threatening for the Welsh', but he was making his offer to Dafydd without the backing of Edward I, and it was unlikely that the latter would be willing to hold to the archbishop's promises. It is also possible that Dafydd was concerned with losing his claim to be prince of Wales, in the event of Llywelyn's defeat. Besides that, agreeing to go

Letters of Innocent III concerning England, 1198–1216, ed. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (London, 1953), pp. 192, 207–8.

[68] J. M. R. Garcia, 'Henry III (1216–1272), Alfonso X (1252–1284) and the crusading plans of the thirteenth century (1245–1272)', in B. Weiler with I. W. Rowlands (eds), *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216–1272)* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 101, 104.

[69] A. D. Carr, '"The last and weakest of his line": Dafydd ap Gruffydd, the last Prince of Wales', *Welsh History Review*, 19 (1999), 393. Execution had been used as a form of punishment before, notably in 1238 on a man who had tried to kill Henry III, and in 1242 on William de Marisco, but as these men were 'of little political importance', these uses of execution seem less significant. J. G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middles Ages* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 23–7.

[70] For crusade as a method of settling disputes, and the problems therein, see Weiler, 'The *Negotium Terrae Sanctae*', 13–15.

on crusade at the king's expense, and returning only at his behest, would be an admission of Edward I's superiority and control over the Welsh prince.

Dafydd's reaction to Pecham's offer, and his failure to exploit the opportunity it presented to him, highlights an aspect of the Welsh attitude to the crusade that robbed them of what could have proved a useful political weapon in the battle for power and authority between the English crown and church, and the Welsh princes and bishops. In 1201, Gerald of Wales took the Cross for the second time, according to Pope Innocent III 'so that he could conduct more freely the case in which he was engaged for the Church of St Davids'.[71] Elsewhere in the British Isles men had used the crusade as a bargaining tool, or to gain the support of the papacy, as was the case with King John and Henry III. Gilbert de Clare took a vow to embark upon crusade in 1270; it was hoped that his participation would end the animosity that had been growing between himself and the Lord Edward.[72] There was nothing to stop Dafydd from attempting to do the same; judging from the way in which he was forced to beg for peace, it would probably have been a shrewd move.

As part of his negotiations with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, Pecham sent Friar John of Wales to the prince with a list of seventeen articles that he wished to see addressed. In the tenth item, the archbishop complained that the Welsh were 'more cruel than the Saracens'; whereas the latter would protect prisoners in order to obtain their ransom, the Welsh delighted in the spilling of their blood, and would often kill their prisoners even after a ransom had been received.[73] Distinguishing the behaviour of the Welsh from that of the English had been a developing aspect of what Davies termed the 'mentality of domination' that accompanied English attempts to conquer Wales.[74] Oderic Vitalis and John of Salisbury thought of the Welsh as barbaric, and

[71] C. R. Cheney, *Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 254–5.

[72] Lloyd, 'Gilbert de Clare, Richard of Cornwall and the Lord Edward's Crusade', 46–63.

[73] *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, II, p. 436.

[74] R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales* (Cambridge 1990), p. 22.

*c.*1214 the bishop of Hereford excused himself from going to Canterbury by saying that he was busy with the 'barbarian Welsh'.[75] The language of his correspondence complained that the Welsh were basically failing in their duty to behave like proper Christians. J. Beverley Smith explains that, in trying to bring the Welsh under tighter religious control, Pecham, in the language he used to describe his work, 'came close in his subsequent depiction of the conquest as a political and spiritual crusade'.[76]

The idea of turning the final conquest of the Welsh into a crusade, however, got no further than an idea that emerged in the archbishop's critical writing, largely because Edward I did not envisage the conquest of Wales in these terms. After the completion of the Edwardian conquest of Wales, Edward's victory was depicted in terms of a successful Arthurian romance, and the king himself as the successor to King Arthur himself.[77] In his continuation of the *Spiegel Historiael*, Lodewijk van Velthem described Edward's conquest of Wales as an Arthurian adventure, complete with magical swords and a 'fountain of adventures'.[78] Edward's interest in Arthurian romance reflected wider European trends in the thirteenth century: in 1284 the king held a round table and a

[75] Oderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, p. 139; John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W. J. Miller, H. E. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (London, 1979), I, pp. 135–6; Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066–1220* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 310, 311; Canterbury Cathedral Archives EC/III/91.

[76] Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffydd*, p. 530.

[77] Michael Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I* (London, 1972), p. 241. James P. Carley, 'Arthur in English history', in W. R. J. Barron (ed.), *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature* (Cardiff, 2001), p. 50. According to Walter Bower, Edward justified his attacks on Wales and Scotland to Pope Boniface in 1301 by explaining that when Brutus had conquered Albion he divided England, Scotland and Wales between his three sons, giving the eldest son England and placing his power above that of Scotland and Wales. He went on to give examples of other kings of England who had subdued Scotland and Wales, among them King Arthur, who had received the 'due service' of Auguselus of Scotland. See Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon, in Latin and English*, ed. Norman F. Shead, Wendy B. Stevenson and D. E. R. Watt, vol. 6, Books XI and XII (Aberdeen, 1991), p. 115; C. E. Pickford, 'The three crowns of King Arthur', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 38 (1954), 373–82; R. S. Loomis, 'Scotland and the Arthurian legend', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 89 (1958), 1–21.

[78] Th. M. Chotzen, 'Welsh history in the continuation of the "Spiegel Historiael" by Lodewijk van Velthem', *BBCS*, 7, 1 (1933), 42–54.

tournament at Nefyn on the Llŷn peninsula to celebrate the conquest.[79] Michael Prestwich considered the king's interest in Arthurian myth part of a more general enthusiasm for mythical and romance tales.[80] King Arthur, however, had a particular resonance in the light of his conquest of Wales; the image of King Arthur, so beloved by the Welsh, was sufficiently potent for Edward to see his assumption of Arthur's greatness (and his crown) as the best way of demonstrating his complete power over Wales. In 1278 Edward had already had the alleged bodies of Arthur and Guinevere exhumed and re-interred, at least according to Powicke, to quash 'Welsh . . . memories of King Arthur and the belief in his return to save them'.[81] The final presentation of what was thought to be Arthur's crown to Edward was the final symbol of his success.[82]

The only way in which Edward's conquest of Wales manifested itself in crusading terms was in the way he employed ideas and techniques he had evidently learned when on crusade in 1270–2. Aside from the castles mentioned earlier, such as Caernarfon, Edward continued to use the contractual cavalry forces for combat that he had used in the Holy Land, and fully understood the importance of paying an army.[83] It tested many of the men who later fought with him in his wars against Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. Although the impact of the

[79] R. Loomis, 'Edward I, Arthurian enthusiast', in Roger Sherman Loomis, with Albert C. Baugh and Ruth Roberts (eds), *Studies in Medieval Literature: A Memorial Collection of Essays* (New York, 1970), pp. 275–6; Ruth Huff Cline, 'The influences of romances on tournaments of the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 20 (1945), pp. 204–11; *BT. Pen.*, p. 121.

[80] Preswich, *Edward I*, p. 120. Arthur was not the only mythical figure associated with Wales to stir Edward's imagination. In 1283, Caernarfon castle was begun on a design that echoed the Dream of Macsen Wledig, a tale from the *Mabinogion*, in which the Emperor Constantine's father sailed to a castle with multicoloured towers in search of a beautiful woman. R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor (eds), *The History of the King's Works, i, ii, The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), I, p. 370; Richard K. Morris, 'The architecture of Arthurian enthusiasm: castle symbolism in the reigns of Edward I and his successors', in Mathew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1998), pp. 63–81.

[81] F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*: *The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1947), II, p. 724.

[82] 'Annales de Waverley', *Ann. Mon.*, II, p. 401.

[83] See above, chapter 3.

crusade would not have been explicit in this case, it is clear that Wales was part of the development of military tactics and organisation that had been precipitated by the crusade.[84]

III The Use of Welsh Saints

Crusading and its attendant themes, such as that of the role of Jerusalem, were employed in more subtle ways than preaching tours or letters demanding crusade participation. Claims of Welsh independence and their relationship to the development of the crusading movement were also reflected in the literature composed in Wales in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The saints' Lives written during this period were often used in power struggles and were closely linked to the politics of the time.[85] Lifris's *Life of Cadog*, for example, was written in response to the Norman invasion of Glamorgan. In the *Life*, Lifris described a fantastical episode in which St Cadog was transported to Italy, thus removing the saint and his relics from Glamorgan, where the Normans might have tried to lay claim to them.[86] Although Lifris's *Life of Cadog* is important for demonstrating the use of hagiography in opposition to Norman advancement, it is Rhigyfarch's *Life of St David* that shows how the ideas generated by the start of the crusade movement contributed to the Welsh struggle to maintain independence.[87] Rhigyfarch's *Life* was probably written in 1095, when the ecclesiastical independence of St David's came under threat; he had already demonstrated his concern for the growing Norman influence in Wales, composing a 'Lament' on the disastrous events of 1093, when it appeared that Wales had finally fallen under the control of the Normans.[88] At the time he

[84] Lloyd, 'The Lord Edward's Crusade', pp. 132–3; Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, p. 68.

[85] Elissa R. Henken, 'Welsh hagiography and the nationalist impulse', in Jane Cartwright (ed.), *Celtic Hagiography and Saint's Cults* (Cardiff, 2003), p. 29.

[86] Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 7–8; David N. Dumville, 'St Teilo, St Cadog and St Buite in Italy?', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, 4 (1987), 1–8.

[87] Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*, trans. J. W. James (Cardiff, 1967).

[88] Ibid., pp. xi, xxiii; *The Welsh Life of St David*, p. xxiii.

was writing, Wilfred was bishop of St David's; he had assumed the see without any reference to Canterbury, and his attitude to its jurisdiction might have had some bearing on the contents of the *Life*.[89] In this *Life*, St David visits Jerusalem with the saints Teilo and Padarn, and there the Patriarch 'advanced David to the archbishopric'.[90] By sending St David to Jerusalem to receive his new status, rather than to Rome or Canterbury, Rhigyfarch subtly suggested that Wales did not need the authority of Rome or Canterbury when it came to the appointments to Welsh bishoprics, or at least to this one.[91] Rhigyfarch's work was undoubtedly a work about the standing of the see of St David's; Brooke referred to it as 'a manifesto for the independence of the Welsh Church'.[92]

The *Nova Legenda Angliae* of John Capgrave (1393–1464), a collection of saints' lives, furnishes us with a footnote on St David and his relationship to the crusades. Although the *Nova Legenda Angliae* is attributed to John Capgrave, he in fact only re-edited it, the original being composed by John of Tynemouth (born *c.*1290), who had visited Wales, among other places, in order to find the stories of saints' lives in ecclesiastical libraries.[93] In his account of St David, he relates how a Welshman from the see of St David's was captured while on crusade and put in chains by the Saracens.[94] Repeatedly crying 'Dewi wared' (David deliver me), he was released from his bonds. His German cell-mate, ignorant of the meaning of the words, repeated them and was freed. Upon learning of their meaning from some Welsh clergymen in Paris, the German crusader undertook a pilgrimage to St David's, where, being reunited with his old cell-mate, he confirmed the latter's tale to the bishop, Gervase (1215–29).[95] The

[89] Ibid., p. xxxiv.

[90] *Life of St David*, p. 43.

[91] Rhigyfarch was not the only author to include a trip to Jerusalem in his work. The Welsh saints Cadog, Cyngar and Cybi also went to the East. G. H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, ed. Simon Evans (Cardiff, 1971), p. 176, n.46.

[92] Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border*, p. 6.

[93] Douglas MacLeane, 'Review: *Nova Legenda Anglie*', *EHR*, 17 (1902), 351.

[94] *Nova Legenda Anglie. By John of Tynemouth and John Capgrave*, ed. Carl Horstman (Oxford, 1901), p. 262.

[95] This bishop is named as 'Gervasio' in Capgrave's text, and Horstman questioningly identifies him as Gervase de Castro, bishop of Bangor 1366–70. Ibid., p. 262, n.2. This misidentification presumably arises from the fact that this was the only

account of the freed crusaders may well be apocryphal; the dating of the incident, however, lends the tale credence, and it would fix the Welsh and German crusaders as participants in the Fifth Crusade (1217–29), which involved German participants and marked an increase in the involvement of the men of the Isles. At the same time, there was a resurgence of Welsh independence under Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. The story of the crusaders' appeal to St David was a way of demonstrating both the power of the saint and, by association, his bishopric, and reinforced the old idea that St David would take care of his own. It both served to underline the see's claims to be the premier seat of Wales and a metropolitan see, and reinforced the independence of the Welsh Church from that of England; it was a Welsh saint who intervened in the Near East, not an English, French or German one.

IV Crusade Finance

The control extended by Canterbury and the English crown to Wales did not apply just to recruitment and diocesan supremacy. As with many struggles for power, money played its part: who had it, who had the right to demand it, who collected it, and who spent it. Collecting finance from Wales had often been related to the power that its eastern neighbour hoped to exert. In pre-Norman Britain, for example, although Peter's pence was paid by the Anglo-Saxon kings, it was never collected from any of the Welsh kings, probably because, Lunt argues, 'no Anglo-Saxon king . . . possessed sufficient political control in Wales to have compelled the Welsh to pay'.[96] By the time of Baldwin's preaching tour in 1188, control and organisation were tightening, although the Saladin Tithe was still not collected in Wales; the poor economy of the country and Henry II's desire for troops probably had more to do with this than the technicalities

Welsh bishop he was able to identify with this name. Bishop Iorwerth of St David's, however, used the alias Gervase; presumably the editor was unaware of this. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. 9, p. 47. The involvement of the bishop of St David's rather than of Bangor also makes more sense in the context of the story as a whole.

[96] William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, MA, 1939), p. 19.

of finance itself, for money was certainly collected from the Welsh in 1193 to pay King Richard's ransom.[97] Under Innocent III, financial collections from Wales began to be comparable with those elsewhere, although these tended to be controlled by English bishops, whereas local bishops were used in Scotland and Ireland.[98] At other times, the military orders were used to collect monies.[99] However, it should be remembered that the collection of money after 1199 was coordinated by the papacy, and as such the control of England over Wales was not as important as it had been at the time of the Third Crusade.

The organisation and collection of money, and the promotion of the Cross, were thus not a function usually carried out by the rulers of the four dioceses. Instead, power was devolved from the pope to either an English figure or the papal legate. For much of the thirteenth century the bishop of Worcester was called on to fill this role.[100] Wales was not always specifically mentioned, although it may be assumed that, when collections were stipulated for Scotland and Ireland, lands in the diocese of St David's, Bangor, St Asaph and Llandaff were automatically assumed to be in the jurisdiction of the English collectors.[101] At other times, as in 1254, the English king appointed a collector for Wales.[102] In 1263, however, Urban IV changed this practice by addressing his

[97] *BT. Pen.*, p. 74; *BT. RBH.*, p. 173. Asking for armed service instead of payment from Wales continued even after the Edwardian conquest; from 1290 to 1327 England was taxed fourteen times, but Wales only three times. The same was also true of Ireland: Joseph R. Strayer, 'Taxation and community in Wales and Ireland', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 411. Peter Edbury has argued that the difficulties of collecting from lands with such divided leadership dissuaded Henry from collecting the tithe in Wales and the March, although as money was collected in 1193, it seems that this was only a contributory factor to his decision and that the recruitment of men was perhaps foremost in his mind. Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade in Wales', pp. 221–33.

[98] In 1213, for example, the chancellor and the archdeacon of London were responsible for collection 'in various provinces and dioceses', whereas the archbishop of Dublin and the abbot of Mellifont were responsible for Ireland, the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow for Scotland. *Calendar of Entries*, I, p. 38.

[99] Ibid., p. 383.

[100] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 446. The bishop of Worcester was also called on to ensure that papal decrees, such as the sentence of interdict in 1207, were observed by the Welsh bishoprics. Cheney and Semple, *Selected Letters*, p. 96.

[101] *Calendar of Entries*, I, p. 38.

[102] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, p. 481.

bulls regarding the crusade to Richard of Carew, bishop of St David's.[103] As with England and Scotland, Urban IV requested a hundredth of clerical incomes for five years, in addition to the fulfilment of any outstanding crusade vows.[104] Matthews, editing the bulls in 1910, saw their address to Richard as proof that the papacy 'regarded the Diocese of Menevia [St David's] as the premier see of Wales'.[105] While it is fair to say that the supremacy of St David's in Wales over the other cathedrals appears to have been addressed here, it does not mean that recognition of the status of St David's in relation to Llandaff, Bangor and St Asaph also implied an acceptance of the former's claim to metropolitan status. Urban IV probably realised that if he wanted the same degree of support from Wales as from England, Scotland and Ireland he would do better to appoint someone who was already familiar with Wales to undertake the task. Geographical proximity to the intended areas of collection might aid the process; in 1202 the bishop of Worcester had complained to the pope that hostilities along the border made it virtually impossible to bring suits, as people could not appear before him.[106] Warfare and hostility would, in all likelihood, have affected the collection of a crusade aid in the same way.

Urban IV's decision to address his bulls directly to St David's was something of a double-edged sword. It marked a change in papal attitudes towards the Welsh see, but it was no great watershed in accepting Welsh ecclesiastical independence. Bishop Walter of Worcester was still appointed to travel 'on the business of the crusade' to, among other places, Wales, indicating that even if the initial organisation of the crusade were devolved to the provinces, the final collection of money and coordination of business were managed by the bishop of Worcester.[107] It is entirely possible that the

[103] The bulls are printed in *Welsh Records in Paris*, pp. 59–74. Why the papacy moved this responsibility from the bishop of Worcester is uncertain, although it is possible that the increased role taken by the bishop in crusading activities in the 1260s meant that he was unable to supervise Wales as well as lands in England. Susan Jane Davies, 'Studies in the administration of the diocese of Worcester in the thirteenth century', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Aberystwyth, 1971), pp. 39–40.

[104] Ibid. p. 59; *Calendar of Entries*, I, p. 394; *Welsh Records in Paris*, p. 60.

[105] Ibid., p. xx.

[106] *Calendar of Entries*, I, p. 10.

[107] Ibid., pp. 394–5.

shift in responsibility for organising crusading matters from Worcester to St David's was part of an attempt to increase control, not from England, but from the papacy.

Only on one occasion did the English king overtly use crusade finance for his own purposes in Wales. In the early 1280s Edward I placed a restriction on money collected by the crusade tax leaving the kingdom. Edward said that his fear was that the money intended for the Holy Land would be taken by criminals, but it is more likely that he needed the money to finance his wars with Gwynedd. This is likely to have been the case, for in 1283 Archbishop Pecham wrote to the pope to inform him that the sum of money spent by the king had been repaid.[108] Admittedly, the amount of money which he used in his conflict with Wales would have been small, since it took him only two months to repay the debt.[109] However, the fact that Edward could control this money for his own ends doubtless added insult to injury, from the Welsh point of view. The money had been collected from Wales as well as from England, Scotland and Ireland, and so in effect Edward was using Welsh contributions to the crusade to facilitate his attack on Gwynedd.[110]

The Scots king was far more adept at using requests for crusade finance to improve his standing regarding England. At the same time as Baldwin was touring Wales, Hugh de Puiset was dispatched to Scotland in order to insist that the Saladin Tithe be paid. King William the Lion refused to pay the tithe until he had secured the return of certain Scottish royal castles. This was duly achieved in the 'Quit-Claim of Canterbury'. The tithe was not collected from the Welsh, largely because Henry II wanted Welsh fighters instead. Admittedly, this removed a financial bargaining point in 1188, but Baldwin's tour would have made it clear to them that the English king expected their involvement. As such, it is unfortunate that the native Welsh did not use their position to gain concessions from either Henry II or Richard I. The inhabitants of *Pura* and *Marchia Wallia* were asked several times to contribute financially to the crusade in the following

[108] *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, II, pp. 638–9.
[109] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 336.
[110] *Calendar of Entries*, I, pp. 475, 476.

century, but there is no record of any attempt to oppose the money-collectors; the Scots, by contrast, once again used the demand to their advantage. In the early 1270s, Edward I was awarded a tenth for his crusade. It was collected in Wales without opposition, but in Scotland the tithe was to be paid only with the consent of the Scottish king and his promise to participate in the crusade. In 1290, when Edward I was determined to show his power over the Scots, he demanded tithe money from the Scottish church. It refused to pay, despite the threat of excommunication. 'Nonpayment', observes Tyerman, 'became a symbol of Scottish independence.'[111] Not so in Wales. For much of the thirteenth century Wales was in a position of relative strength, yet it failed ever to capitalise on the requests from its eastern neighbour.

In Scotland, unlike in Wales, the idea of the crusade was also used as a tool of propaganda in the struggle against Edward I's ambitions. In 1296 a Scottish clergyman drummed up support for opposition to Edward by claiming that 'to fight against Edward I was more justified than fighting against the Saracens'.[112] In the Declaration of Arbroath (1320), the Scots complained that they would happily embark upon a crusade of their own if only the English would leave them in peace. The imagery of crusade and tales associated with crusading activities, such as those of Charlemagne, were linked to the Scottish struggle for independence in an effort to garner Scottish support at a time when calls for crusade participation were renewed, and to cast the struggle for Scottish freedom in a crusading light.[113] Simon de Montfort had done the same against Henry III in 1263–5, though admittedly neither won in the end. Nevertheless, this shows that, in Scotland at least, the clergy had an appreciation of the importance of the crusade, as well as of the prejudices and sympathies that underlay any response to requests for aid.

Scotland and, indeed, Ireland were of course in a different position to Wales. First, Scotland was a country under one king, instead of a fragmentary and often conflicting group

[111] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 330.

[112] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 165–6.

[113] For a discussion of the role of crusading in the Scottish wars with Edward I, see MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, pp. 71–2.

of principalities, and, from 1192, an autonomous ecclesiastical unit in a way that Wales never was. Attempts had been made in the 1120s and 1130s to have all Scottish archbishops consecrated at York, but Bishop John of Glasgow (d. 1147) continually refused to submit to Archbishop Thurstan of York. John's successor, Herbert of Selkirk, was afterwards consecrated by Pope Eugenius III as a compromise. Ireland may not have had the same unity of leadership, but ecclesiastically at least she could claim independence of Canterbury, and so resist to some degree the ways in which the English used the church to exert power in Wales; the synod of Kells (1152) had created the four archbishoprics of Armagh, Tuam, Cashel and Dublin under the primacy of the archbishop of Armagh.[114]

Why, then, did Wales not use the crusade to its advantage in its struggle with both the English crown and church, and to control its own troublesome princes? Gerald's *Itinerarium* suggests that in 1188 the Welsh princes were becoming aware of the benefits of crusade. Sir John Lloyd observed that it was the 'adroit manoeuvring' and realisation of how absence on crusade could affect the balance of power that led Gruffydd ap Rhys to encourage his brother Maelgwn to go on crusade.[115] If Gruffydd could see the benefits of certain men absenting themselves on crusade, presumably the other princes could see them, too. They could also have used the crusade to gain papal support. Dafydd ap Llywelyn tried to gain support against Henry III in 1244 by becoming a vassal of Innocent III, and in 1212 Llywelyn had made an alliance with the French king, so the idea of seeking outside aid was hardly alien.[116] Manipulating religious ideals was also a familiar idea to the Welsh. Llywelyn ap Iorwerth had used canon law to his advantage, both to extricate himself from an unwanted marriage, to the daughter of the king of Man and the Isles, and to have the legitimate son of his subsequent marriage,

[114] Davies, *The First English Empire*, pp. 11–12.

[115] Trans. Thorpe, p. 179, n.327.

[116] *AWR*, p. 478; R. F. Treharne, 'The Franco-Welsh treaty of alliance in 1212', *BBCS*, 18 (1958), pp. 60–75. Owain Gwynedd had also sought to ally himself to France in the mid-1160s: *AWR*, pp. 324, 327–29; H. Pryce, 'Owain Gwynedd and Louis VII: the Franco-Welsh diplomacy of the first prince of Wales', *WHR*, 19 (1998), 1–28.

to Joan, declared his successor, in 1222.[117] In 1275 Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, it seems, made a half-hearted attempt to enlist the help of the archbishop and prelates of Canterbury in maintaining Edward's treaty with Gwynedd, by referring to the decree at the Council of Lyons which had prohibited war between Christians because it hindered plans for the crusade.[118] Perhaps their failure to do so stemmed from their experiences of the crusade; from their point of view it may have appeared as part of the attempts of Canterbury and the crown to extend their power. Sources suggest that both Welsh princes and common people were happy enough to go on crusade and support the movement, but would not support those things associated with the movement, such as finance, if they were used for political purposes.

The most notable change in the way that the English crown and church used the crusade in its dealings with the Welsh between 1188 and 1282 was that the intentions of the church and crown were now explicit, whereas previously they had been implicit, couched in general terms. In 1188 and 1282 it was hoped that troublemakers would be removed by sending them on crusade, and at the same time that this would create stability that would allow the English king to travel to the East. Dafydd had to be checked before Edward's departure became a reality, and to send him on crusade would probably have been the best option. Pecham's offer in 1282 was also more direct, coming from a position of increased power both for the English crown and the church, and there was no mistaking his intentions. Whereas Baldwin had relied on a good deal of symbolism, such as his choice of preaching site, and had tried to use rhetoric and persuasion to remove troublemakers, Pecham went straight to the point. He threatened ecclesiastical censure if Dafydd did not come to peace, by which he meant accepting his proposal, and the archbishop reminded him that he was close to defeat. On both occasions, however, the princes were suspicious of English intentions, and English lay and ecclesiastical power was largely ignored or, as in the case of Dafydd, explicitly rejected.

[117] *AWR*, pp. 414–16; Davies, *Age*, pp. 192–4.
[118] *AWR*, pp. 570–74; *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, p. 312.

Greater success was achieved with financial exactions, which, as far as the evidence allows, do not appear to have caused any particular opposition. The Anglo-Norman advance in Glamorgan and Deheubarth in the years after the First Crusade was met by a literary response, in the inclusion of references to Jerusalem in the lives of the saints. The anecdote of the Welsh crusader of the Fifth Crusade shows that even after the supremacy of Canterbury had been settled and Wales conquered, ideas of crusading continued to play a role in assertions of the importance of St David's. Yet princes rarely appreciated the potential opportunity the crusade offered in terms of resisting invasion, and failed to deploy its terminology in the way that Scotland did; neither, however, did the English fully appreciate how they might use the crusade in fighting against the Welsh, even though crusading terminology was often invoked against the Scots and the king's enemies in England. Edward complained that the Welsh wars (and those in Ireland) were hindering his plans to go to the Holy Land in 1276, but in the period leading up to the conquest of Wales he did not exploit this to call the Welsh an enemy of Christ for distracting him from his goal, as he did in Scotland.[119] Considering the attempts to reform religious practices in Wales and the perceived corruption of Welsh law, it is striking how the English crown failed to exploit the potential for couching assaults on Wales in the language of crusade. If Simon de Montfort and Henry III could describe their conflict in such terms, why could not Llywelyn and Edward? Even so, the fact that Baldwin and Pecham sought to exert authority over the Welsh church reflects the importance of the link between Welsh society and the crusades that has usually been overlooked. Crusading affected society in Wales as it did society elsewhere in Europe, through attempts at recruitment, the collection of monies and power relationships. Both princes and churchmen appear to have been mostly willing to support the crusade when they could do so on their own terms, or participate when they chose to do so, but equally they seemed unwilling to do so if it would enhance the power and authority of the English crown or church.

[119] *Treaty Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. 1: 1236–1325*, ed. Pierre Chaplais (London, 1955), no.153.

CONCLUSION

The central aim of this study has been to demonstrate that the Welsh were interested and involved in all aspects of crusading during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An examination of the ways in which the native Welsh and those who settled in the March contributed to crusading, and how crusading made itself felt in Wales and the March, through crusading literature, religious endowments, architectural changes, and the nature of power in the church, demonstrates that Wales played a part in the crusade movement and was not isolated from events in Europe and the Holy L and.

The level of participation was not particularly high or widespread, but despite the size, resources and political fragility of Wales, several notable Welshmen, such as Morgan ap Cadwgan, Aron ap Rhys ap Bledri and possible Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, were able to go on crusade. Those who organised crusading activity did not overlook recruitment from among the Welsh. The lord of Thouars included Welshmen in the multinational contingent he led on crusade, and William of Malmesbury listed the contribution of these native Welshmen alongside Norwegians and Scots who are known to have contributed to the crusade throughout their history. Henry II sent Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury on an extensive tour of Wales in 1188 in order to enlist combatants. This was hardly surprising; Welsh mercenary fighters were used by the English in their wars, and contemporary commentators like Gerald of Wales noted the military prowess of the Welsh. Their skills with a bow were particularly famed, and it is perhaps understandable that the one reference to Welsh crusaders in the sources of the Third Crusade referred to a duel between a Saracen and a Welsh archer, in which the latter emerged victorious.

It seems that people from all levels of Welsh society went to the Holy Land to fight, even Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, the

future prince of Wales. Most, however, were minor princes and lords, such as Ednyfed Fychan and Aeddan ab Aeddan. From the March, earls as well as barons and more minor landholders took the Cross, and though their motives – piety, family tradition, local ties and the bonds of lordship – played a part, they were also influenced by the state of relations with the native Welsh. They could not contemplate crusading if their estates were to be attacked in their absence. This was one of the most important factors influencing crusade participation. Good relations, such as those between Cheshire and Gwynedd, might encourage crusading; this was reflected in the cultural awakening in Gwynedd in the first decades of the thirteenth century, and in the number and importance of the men who accompanied earl Ranulf of Chester on the Fifth Crusade. Intermarriage between Wales and the March, and between Marcher families, meant that many of those who went on crusade were linked to each other in some way, so that information and ideas on crusading could have been transmitted through familial links; the way in which men linked by marriage or blood to a crusade tradition went on crusade suggests that the connections between these families, such as the de Lacys, were influential.

Not all areas of Wales and the March responded in the same way to each crusade; volatile relations in the March affected participation, even during the same crusade. The Lord Edward was accompanied in 1270 by numerous barons from the March, but Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was unable to join him because of the continuing conflict with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in south Wales. Gilbert's case demonstrates that the impact of Anglo–Welsh relations worked in two ways: while the Welsh could not leave for fear of English encroachments, both Richard I and Ranulf, earl of Chester, needed to secure a formal peace with the Welsh before leaving on crusade.

In addition to fragile relationships in the March, it appears that many native Welshmen were averse to the idea of going on crusade if they thought the enterprise was closely linked to English power and ambition. Gerald of Wales's *Itinerarium Kambriae* demonstrates that the archbishop's lack of diplomatic skill in Bangor and the hostile relationship with

northern Wales did not endear his cause to the Welsh, and ultimately lost him support for his mission. Financial collections and crusade preaching were controlled from Worcester instead of St David's until 1263, which can only have associated crusading with the English even more closely. The bishop of Worcester had complained of the difficulties of collecting in Wales, suggesting that there was a significant level of resistance to appeals to aid for the Holy Land. This was not a reflection of Welsh reluctance to help with the crusades, but rather arose from an objection to handing monies to a collector who would pass them to the English crown.

Even when Welshmen were not on crusade, news of events in the Holy Land, Egypt, France and Spain reached Wales. Most of this news was recorded by the monastic scribes of the Cistercian houses in their chronicles, but information also reached the princely courts, where it figured in Welsh poetry. There was a particular rise in crusade references in Gwynedd in the early thirteenth century, at the same period as the rise in the number of participants from north Wales and the northern March. The appearance of crusade themes in Welsh literature, which had hitherto been quite limited in scope, demonstrates how the princely courts were linked to those of their neighbours, notably in England, France and the Isle of Man, and how ideas spread freely between them. Wales was not culturally isolated, but part of an exchange of ideas facilitated by those returning from crusade and by those who came to Wales, either as conquerors or by invitation, such as to the eisteddfod of 1187.

The Welsh chronicles provide some of the best evidence for the network of monastic contacts that linked Wales to Europe. Some of the information contained in these chronicles is detailed, and highlights how certain crusading issues aroused different levels of interest in the various parts of Wales. The Margam *Annales* were particularly interested in the events in southern France concerning the Cathars, and in the reconquest of Spain, while the *Brutiau* focused on crusading to the Latin East, and particularly on the Fifth Crusade to Damietta. The levels of crusade references in Welsh chronicles and literature reflect the changing crusade

participation over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with some events capturing the imagination of poets and scribes, while others passed by virtually unnoticed. The scribes were particularly well informed on the way in which Damietta fell to the Christians, perhaps as a result of good relations between Gwynedd and Cheshire, whence many of the Fifth Crusaders came, during the early decades of the thirteenth century.

When political relations were fraught, crusade numbers from both sides of the border declined. It was during one of these periods, when absence on crusade would have been foolhardy, if not irresponsible, that the idea of the crusade was used in its most explicit form. In 1282, Archbishop Pecham proposed that Dafydd ap Gruffydd go on crusade at the king's expense as a way of removing this troublesome prince from Wales. Dafydd understandably refused. Crusade language in the conflict of 1282–3 went no further than this, despite Pecham's belief that the war against the Welsh was virtually a crusade to remove abuses in the church. Edward I did not support Pecham's efforts to intervene, and when the king finally conquered Wales he couched his success in Arthurian language, not in terms of a crusade over the enemies of a crusading king. The only way it manifested itself materially was in the castles designed after the conquests in Wales, but Edward reserved the explicit rhetoric of the crusade for his conflict with Scotland. For, although Edward did not use crusade terminology, the crusade was associated with England through the tour of 1188, the use of the bishop of Worcester to organise Welsh recruitment, financial requests and the offer of 1282.

The strained relationship between England and Wales, and the effect this had on crusading, was not confined to the secular world. The crusades – their organisation, imagery, participation and ideals – were used in the struggle between Canterbury and the Welsh church. Pecham's attempts at reform were the most obvious expression of this, but the way in which the preaching tour of 1188 was viewed with suspicion in some quarters, and St David was depicted as rescuing a Welsh crusader, suggests that the Welsh were aware of ways in which elements of the crusade movement could

be used in this conflict. Control through crusade organisation appears to have been an aim of the archbishop of Canterbury, though the papacy was happy to shift responsibilities from Canterbury to the bishopric of Worcester in the early thirteenth century. Neither the English nor the Welsh church ever succeeded in exploiting crusading during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and although successive archbishops appear to have tried to use it to their advantage, without papal and royal support their efforts had little effect.

The final way in which the crusading movement was felt in Wales and the March was through the arrival of the military orders. The foundations of the Hospitallers and Templars were a reflection of the fight in the Holy Land, especially for those who did not leave Wales, or had no links to the monasteries or courts, where tales of the crusades were common. Moreover, the lands and gifts bestowed on the military orders in Wales and the March reflected Anglo–Welsh relations; several grants were made in the wake of conquest as a way of securing frontiers, such as those made by Roger de Clare at Cardigan, Llansantffraid, Ystradmeurig and Troedyraur in 1158. Henry II allowed a significant amount of land to be cleared by the Templars at Garway in Herefordshire, perhaps as a way of rewarding loyal Templars in the March, who would remind local marcher lords of the king's power. It may be for this reason that the Templars were less popular than the Hospitallers in Wales and the March, because the marcher lords and the Welsh resented the crown's attempts at curbing their power.

Crusade participation, the endowment of military institutions, cultural adoption of crusade themes and the occurrence of references to crusading in writing produced in Wales, all underscore that although Wales was on the fringe of Christendom, it was linked to wider European movements. Wales reacted to the crusade call in ways similar to those in other countries, and of course large crusading armies led by kings and emperors were the exception, rather than the rule. For the most part, the native Welsh and men of the March provided a steady, if not spectacular, contribution to the struggle in the East, where they fought and died alongside other crusaders from Christendom.

APPENDIX I

Welsh Participants

Key
? – Participation uncertain
– Took the Cross, departure uncertain
* – Took the Cross but did not go

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Source	Notes
? Gruffydd ab Elidir Goch			Carmarthenshire		Golden Grove MS; Francis Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', p. 22.	
? Cynllin Ynfyd	*c.*1096		Anglesey?		Golden Grove MS; Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, pp. 10, 22, 83, 139, 264; *Llyfr Baglan*, p. 301; Francis Jones, *A Catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 301.	
? Ieuan ap Seisyllt	*c.*1100–1150		Morgannwg		Clark, *Limbus partum*, p. 7; *Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff*, p. 17.	Ancestor of Madoc ap Caradoc.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Source	Notes
Morgan ap Cadwgan	1128	Prince	Powys		*BT. RBH.*, p. 111.	Took the Cross as penance for murdering his brother.
Welsh pilgrims	1144	–	Deheubarth		*B. Saes.*, p. 149.	Drowned on the way to Jerusalem.
Aron ap Rhys ap Bledri	1189–92	Lord of Cilsant	Pembrokeshire		Peniarth MS 156, pp. 10, 31, 72, 90.	May have received the lion rampant on his arms as a reward for service.
Ieuan Ddu ap Gwilym	1189–92		Grosmont Castle		*Pedigree of the Ancient Family of Dolau Cothi*, p. 12.	Allegedly received the Cross from Archbishop Baldwin.
? Elidir Ddu	1189–92		Iscennen (Carreg Cennen)		*Pedigree of the Ancient Family of Dolau Cothi*, p. 9.	A local legend identified Elidir Ddu with Kidwelly, but this seems unlikely.
Aeddan ab Aeddan	1188–92		Grosmont/ Gwent		*Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff*, p. 18.	Genealogy not entirely reliable.
'Mariduc' the Welsh Archer	1189–92				*History of the Holy War*, II, p. 84.	Involved in a duel with a Saracen archer at Tyre.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Source	Notes
Simon de Wale	1189–92				*Gesta Regis*, II, p. 149.	Drowned at Acre. Siedschlag identifies him as a Welshman. Siedschlag, *English Participation*, p. 27, n.48.
* Rhys ap Gruffydd	1189–92	Prince of Deheubarth	Deheubarth		*Itin. Kam.*, p. 15.	Did not depart – spent the years of Richard I's absence reclaiming Welsh castles.
* Gerald of Wales	1189–92	Archdeacon of Brecon	Deheubarth		*Itin. Kam.*, p. 14.	Was excused his vow on account of the cost of crusading, and contributed instead to the rebuilding of St David's.
* Einion ab Einion Clud	1189–92	Prince of Elfael	Radnorshire		*Itin. Kam.*, p. 15.	
* Maelgwn ap Cadwallon	1189–92	Prince of Maelienydd	Maelienydd		*Itin. Kam.*, p. 16.	

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Source	Notes
# Gruffydd	1189–92				*Itin. Kam.*, p. 15.	A relative of the Lord Rhys, he was alleged by Gerald of Wales to have asked the Lord Rhys, 'What man of Spirit can hesitate for a moment to undertake this journey?'
# Hector	1189–92		Cruker Castle, Radnorshire		*Itin. Kam.*, p. 16.	Persuaded to take the Cross during a private audience with Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury.
? Unknown prince	1189–92	Prince			Aubrey of Trois-Fontaines, in *Accessiones Historicae*, II, p. 390.	
? Morgan ap Hywel	1220s	Prince	Caerleon		Röhrict, *Studien*, p. 89.	Possible confusion with the earl of Chester, who participated in the Fifth Crusade.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Source	Notes
Gruffydd ap Rhydderch	1233				*Cal. Pat. R., 1232–47*, p. 17.	Given safe conduct to take a ship to the East, but not clear if he went as a crusader.
# Ednyfed Fychan	1235	Seneschal Gwynedd			*Cal. Pat. R., 1232–47*, p. 108.	The patent rolls make it clear that Ednyfed planned to go on crusade; it is not certain that he fulfilled his vow.
Llywelyn ap Gruffydd	1240	Prince	Gwynedd	John the Scot, earl of Chester (1236)	*Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 48.	Travelled with Richard of Cornwall, leaving June 1240, returning August 1241.
? Tudor ap Grono	*c.*1250		Montgomery-shire		Francis Jones, 'Knights', 21; Dwnn *Heraldic Visitations*, ii, p. 283; BL, Harl. MS, p. 6831.	
? Madoc ap Caradoc	*c.*1250		–	Ieuan ap Seisyllt (*c.*1100–50)	Francis Jones, 'Knights', 22.	
? Madoc ap Meuric	1250–1300		Morgannwg	Ieuan ap Seisyllt (*c.*1100–50)	*Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff*, p. 21; Francis Jones, 'Knights', 22.	Genealogy not entirely reliable.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Source	Notes
? Griffith Gethin	1250–1300		Morgannwg	Ieuan ap Seisyllt (*c.*1100–50); Madoc ap Meuric (his father)	*Genealogy of the Earls of Landaff*, p. 21; Francis Jones, 'Knights', 22.	Genealogy not entirely reliable.
? Rhys Chwith	1272		Llanachaeron, Cardiganshire		Horsfall-Turner, *Walks and Wanderings*, p. 110; Meyrick, *History of Cardiganshire*, p. 356, n.11.	May have been a squire of Edward I
Contingent led by the lord of Thouars	1096–1100		Morgannwg		*Canso d'Antioca*, p. 227.	Land near Pyle called 'land of Poitevin' – possible crusaders from this area.
? Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ap Ynyr			Denbighshire		Williams, 'Some monumental effigies', 184.	Based on effigy in Llanarmon Church.
? Thomas de Glamorgan	1096–1100		Morgannwg		Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain*, p. 113.	
Welsh pilgrim	1217–29		South Wales		Capgrave, *Nova legenda Anglie*, p. 262.	Freed from his bonds after crying 'Dewi wared', together with a German crusader.

APPENDIX II

Marcher Participants

Key
* – Took the Cross but did not go
? – Uncertain

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
? Jasper Croft	1096–1100		Croft Castle, Herefordshire		Son-in-law, William Harley	Carmarthenshire Archives, GB 0211 CAWDOR, Golden Grove Book, p. 99.	Dansey claims he fought under Geoffrey de Bouillon.
? Titus de Leighton	1096–1101		Leighton, Shropshire			Eyton, *Antiquities*, VII, pp. 326, 339.	Eyton mentions a Tihel or Tiel de Leighton as being the first Leighton who died *c.*1160–5. There is a cross-legged effigy of a Leighton in Leighton Church, dating of armour *c.*1300.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
William Harley	1096–1100		Herefordshire		Father-in-law, Jasper Croft	Carmarthenshire Archives, GB 0211 CAWDOR. Golden Grove Book, p. 99.	May have travelled with his father-in-law.
Philip de Braose	1096–1101, or 1128		Radnor and Builth			*Chartulary of the Priory of St Peter at Sele*, xii, p. 3.	Returned in 1103, when he granted land to St Peter's Gloucester. Paul Remfry believes he went in 1128.
Castellan of Radnor Castle	During Reign of Henry I		Radnor			*Itin. Kam.*, pp. 16–17.	Led blind into battle in the Holy Land after being struck blind for sleeping with his dogs in the church of Llanafan.
Robert of Baskerville	*c.*1109		Herefordshire			*Historia and Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri*, I, p. 81.	Returned from the East in 1109.
Robert FitzHarold of Ewyas Lacy, stepbrother of a Roger de Clifford.	1147–9		Ewyas, Herefordshire			*The Southern Marches*, p. 155; Williams, 'The abbey of Dore', p. 25.	Suggested he met the Abbot of Morimond on Second Crusade and offered him lands to found Dore.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
Roger, bishop of Chester	1147–9		Cheshire			Eyton, *Antiquities*, VI, p. 319.	Bishop Clinton died at Antioch in 1148, having accompanied Louis VII.
? Thomas Corbet the 'Pilgrim'	1147–9		Wattles-borough/ Moreton Corbet			Meisel, *Barons*, p. 8.	
? William de Wygemore	1147–9		Lucton in Herefordshire			Dansey, *English Crusaders*.	
Gilbert de Lacy	1160s		Ludlow			Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 71; William of Tyre, XIX, p. viii.	Lord of Ludlow, Weobley and Ewyas. Kinsman of Geoffrey Talbot.
Walter of Hereford	1160		Hereford			*Complete Peerage* I, p. 21; *VCH Gloucs.*, V, p. 24.	Probably died in the Holy Land *c.*1160.
Bartholomew Mortimer	1189–92					*History of the Holy War*, I, p. 184; *Cron. Wall.*, p. 176	May have led Welsh contingent during the Third Crusade.
? Elidor de Stackpole	1189–92		Pembrokeshire			*Pedigree of the Ancient Family of Dolau Cothi*, p. 9; Peniarth MS 156, 'Genealogies', p. 64.	Some confusion over identity.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
Gilbert Talbot	1189–92		Linton, Herefordshire			*Red Book of the Exchequer*, I, pp. 123, 158; II, p. 496.	
Guido de Danci	1189–92		Herefordshire or Wiltshire			*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, p. 148.	Killed soon after Acre.
Hugh de (la) Rode	1189–92		Herefordshire			Rodd, *Valley on the March*, p. 164.	
? Hugh Pantulf	1189–92		Shropshire			Eyton, *Antiquities*, VII, p. 15.	Financial problems may have prevented him from fulfilling the crusade vow.
John de Knill	1189–92		Knill, Herefordshire			*Valley on the March*, p. 133.	Rennel of Rodd argues that armorial bearings support this.
John de Lacy	1189–92	Constable	Chester			*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, p. 148; Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 88.	Died outside Tyre.
John FitzLucas	1189–92					*History of the Holy War*, I, p. 93.	

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
John le Strange	1189–92		Ruyton-XI-Towns, Shropshire.			MS Ashmole 1120, fo. 174r.	Possibly brought back a relic of St Thecla, for which he had a casket carved.
John Rudd	1189–92	Captain	Ystrad Meurig			Carmarthenshire Archives, GB 0211 CAWDOR, Golden Grove Book, 'Advenae of Brecon', p. 197.	Killed when Richard I was captured in Austria. Son-in-law of the Lord Rhys ap Gruffydd.
Josceline	1189–92		Harold's Castle			*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, p. 149.	Died at Acre.
Ralph of Arden	1189–92	Sheriff	Hereford		Ranulph de Glanville (father-in-law).	Siedschlag, *English Participation*, p. 120.	Sheriff from 1185–9.
Robert Corbet	1189–92		Caus, Shropshire	Thomas Corbet (1147–9)		Eyton, *Antiquities*, VII, pp. 12–13; MS Ashmole 1120, fo. 171.	

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
Robert de la Mare / Robert de Mara	1189–92		Castle Holgate, Shropshire (possibly linked with Norfolk and Suffolk)			Eyton, *Antiquities*, IV, p. 58.	Possible that he travelled in 1188 before the main English army under Richard. Died at Benevento in 1192.
Henry Longchamp	1202		Herefordshire			*Rotuli Chart.*, p. 146b.	Placed his estate in Wilton (Ross-on-Wye) in royal custody before going on crusade. Did not return.
?Enjuger de Bohun, count of Hereford	1217–1220		Hereford-shire, or Sussex			Röhricht, *Studien Zur Geschichte*, p. 101.	Died on crusade. Records suggest links with Sussex, but he appears to have had links with Herefordshire.
Geoffrey de Dutton	1220s					Arley Charter, no. i 55.	May have married Alice, daughter of John de Lacy, constable of Chester.
Henry de Bohun	1217–1219	Earl of Hereford	Herefordshire			Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 188.	Died at the siege of Damietta, 1219.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
John de la More	1220–1		Shropshire			*Rolls . . . Eyre, Shropshire, 1221, 1222*, p. 521.	Died on crusade.
John of Lacy	1218–1220	Constable	Cheshire	John de Lacy, (1188–92)		Roger of Wendover, *Flores*, ii,135; *Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, I, 37, no. 21.	Went in 1218. The justices in eyre in Yorkshire granted an essoin for him because he was on crusade. A charter issued by him at Damietta has been preserved.
Ranulf de Blundeville	1218–1220	Earl of Chester	Cheshire		Took brother-in-law and nephew	*Peterborough Chronicle*, p. 7; *Annales Cestrienses*, p. 51.	Returned *c.* 1 August 1220. Possible evidence in Aldford Church, which has an inscription concerning Ranulf's crusade. A peace was made with Wales before he could depart. Relic of True Cross in Holy Rood in St John's Chester allegedly brought back by him.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
Philip of Badger	1227		Badger, Shropshire			Shropshire Archives, 513/2/2/1/2; Eyton, *Antiquities*, II, p. 71.	Returned (or sold) land held at Beckbury to his brother before crusade and received 5 silver marks. Possibly went in 1227 in response to Hubert's preaching. Quitclaim dated *c.*1227.
Philip de Albini	1221 and 1235	Governor	Ludlow			Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, p. 373.	Died in the Holy Land in 1236.
*Gilbert Marshal	1236	Earl of Pembroke	Pembrokeshire			Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, p. 620; IV, pp. 135–6, 239.	Died at a tournament in Hertford in 1237 before he could fulfil his vow.
*John the Scot, earl of Chester	1236		Cheshire			Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, 368–9.	
Ralph de Teoni	1239	Lord of Flamstead	Castle Maud (Painscastle), Radnorshire			*Cur. Reg. R., 1237–42*, p. 320.	Drowned on crusade.

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
Aumary de St Amand	1240	Sheriff of Hereford-shire	Herefordshire			Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, IV, p. 44.	1222 Married Iseult Pantulf. 1240 crusade as one of Simon de Montfort's bannerets. Dead by Sept. 1241. He received 50 marks from the crown to crusade.
Richard of Cornwall (also lord of Abergavenny)	1240	Earl of Cornwall	Abergavenny			Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, IV, pp. 44, 56, 174–5.	
Peter d'Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford (d.1268)	1250	Bishop	Hereford			Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, V, pp. 98–9.	Went on crusade with Simon de Montfort.
*Humphrey de Bohun	1250			Henry de Bohun (1218)		Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, V, p. 99.	Did not set out.
Adam de Monte Alto	1270–2			Roger de Monthaut (1250)	John and Simon de Monte Alto (brothers)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 411.	

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
Lord Edward, earl of Chester	1270–2	Prince	Cheshire			Wykes, *Chronicon, Ann. Mon.*, IV, pp. 217–18.	
Geoffrey de Geneville	1270–2			French. Joinville ancestors	John de Verdun (brother-in-law)	*Cal. Pat. R., 1266–72*, p. 440.	
* Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester	1270–2					*Chronica Buriensis*, p. 39.	
Hamo le Strange	1270–2		Whittington, Shropshire	John le Strange (1189–92)	Robert le Strange (brother)	*Cal. Pat. R., 1266–72*, p. 440.	Stayed in the Holy Land and married Isabella Ibelin, lady of Beirut. Before his death he placed his wife and lands under the protection of the Baibars.
Henry de Burghill	1270–2					*Cal. Pat. R., 1266–72*, p. 440.	
Hervey de Chaworth	1270–2		Kidwelly			Patrick and Payn de Chaworth (brothers) *Cal. Pat. R., 1266–72*, p. 440.	

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
James de Audley	1270–2					*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 440.	
John de Baskerville	1270–2					*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 440.	
John de Monte Alto	1270–2				Adam and Simon de Monte Alto (brothers)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 411.	
John de Verdun	1270–2		Herefordshire	Bertram de Verdun (1189–92)	Geoffrey de Geneville (brother-in-law)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 440.	
Jordan de Pyvelsdon	1270–2					Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 125.	
Payn de Chaworth	1270–2		Kidwelly		Patrick and Hervey de Chaworth (brothers)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 440.	
Patrick de Chaworth	1270–2		Kidwelly		Payn and Hervey de Chaworth (brothers)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 440.	

Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
Robert le Strange	1270–2		Cheshire	John le Strange (1189–92)	Hamo le Strange (brother)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 411.	
? Robert Pounderling	1270–2	Constable	Dyserth Castle			Pennant, *Tours*, II, p. 134.	Constable from 1241 to 1263.
Robert Tiptoft/ Tibetot	1270–2					Lloyd, *English Society*, 118–19; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 68.	The king funded his crusade.
Roger de Clifford	1270–2		Clifford, Herefordshire		Roger Leyburn (brother-in-law)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 440.	
Roger Leyburn	1270–2				Roger Clifford (brother-in-law)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 479.	
Simon de Monte Alto	1270–2				Adam and John de Monte Alto (brothers)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 411.	
Urian de Sancto Petro	1270–2				William Patrick (brother-in-law)	*Cal. Pat. R.*, *1266–72*, p. 440.	

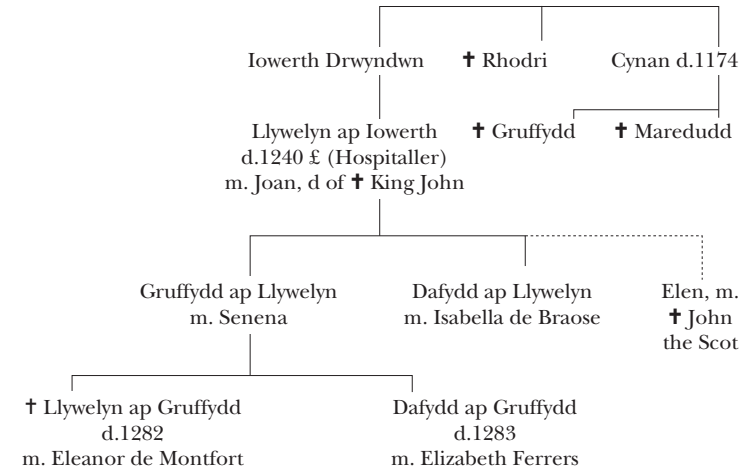
Name	Date	Rank	Land	Familial precedent	Participation of kinsmen	Source	Notes
William Patrick	1270–2				Urian de Sancto Petro (brother-in-law)	*Cal. Pat. R., 1266–72*, p. 440.	
William de Valence	1270–2			Lusignan ancestors		*Cal. Pat. R., 1266–72*, pp. 484–5.	
Roger Plowden	Possibly 1188–92		Shropshire			Cranage, *The Churches of Shropshire*, I, pp. 411–12.	Eyton dates participation to the Third Crusade. A Plowden commissioned a chapel at St Michael and All Angels for his safe return.
Walcot	Possibly 1188–92		Shropshire			Cranage, *The Churches of Shropshire*, I, pp. 411–12.	
? Grimbald Pauncefoot	Thirteenth century		Great Cowarne, Herefordshire			Duncumb, *Collections*, pp. 98–9; *Liber Feodorum*, I (1216)	Monument in Cowarne Church supposedly housed monument to Grimaldus and his wife Eleanor, who cut off her hand as ransom to have her husband released from Tunis.

APPENDIX III – GENEALOGIES

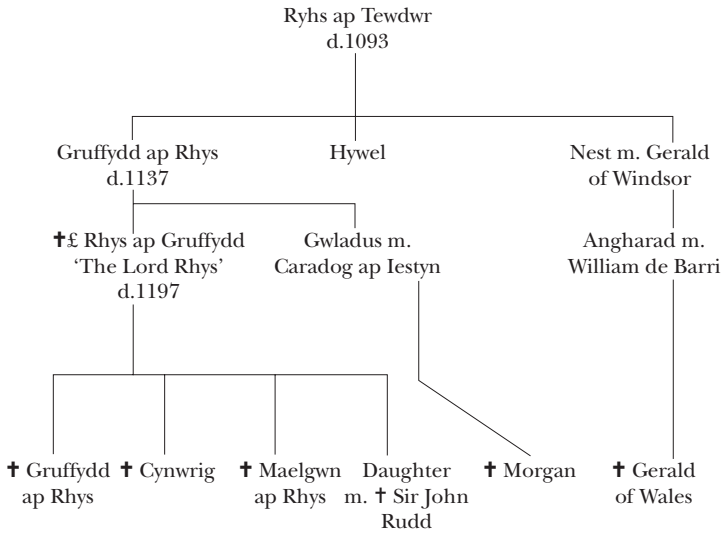
Key
† – Crusader
✝ – Took the Cross, did not go
£ – Supporter of military orders

Welsh Princes

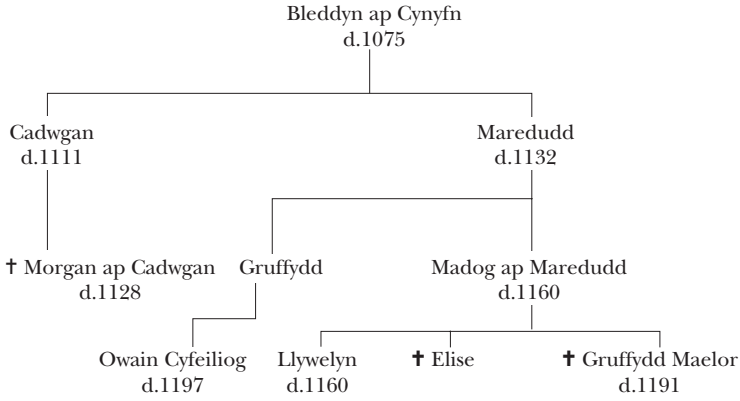
Gwynedd



Deheubarth



Powys



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Arley Charter, no. i 55

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Peniarth MS 2

GB 0210 SLEBECH (Slebech Estate Records)
No. 247a
No. 486
No. 3144
No. 5611
No. 11477

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